UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Santa Barbara

The Public History of a Concentration Camp: Historical Tales of Tragedy and Hope at the National Stadium of Chile

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in History

by

Zachary D. McKiernan

Committee in charge:

Professor Randolph Bergstrom, Chair

Professor Harold Marcuse

Professor Cecilia Méndez

Professor John Foran

September 2014

The dissertation of Zachary D. McKiernan is approved.

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John Foran

_____

Cecilia Méndez

_____

Harold Marcuse

_____

Randolph Bergstrom, Committee Chair

July 2014

VITA OF ZACHARY D. MCKIERNAN
July 2014

EDUCATION

Bachelor of Arts in History, Loyola University Chicago, May 2006 (summa cum laude)

Masters of Arts in Latin American and Iberian Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara, June 2008

Doctor of Philosophy in Public History, University of California, Santa Barbara, July 2014

PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYMENT

1996-2002: Second Class Petty Officer, United States Navy
2006-2008: Street Outreach Worker, Noah's Achorage, Santa Barbara, CA
Spring 2007: Instructor of Spanish, University of California, Santa Barbara
Fall 2007: Instructor of Spanish, University of California, Santa Barbara
Summer 2008: Instructor of Spanish, University of California, Santa Barbara
2009: Interpretive Ranger, National Park Service, Katmai, AK
Fall 2009: Teaching Assistant, Department of History, University of California, Santa Barbara
Fall 2010: Teaching Assistant, Department of History, University of California, Santa Barbara
Summer 2011: Lecturer, Department of History, University of California, Santa Barbara
Summer 2012: Lecturer, Department of History, University of California, Santa Barbara
Winter 2013: Internship, International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, New York, NY
Spring 2013: Teaching Assistant, Department of History, University of California, Santa Barbara

PUBLICATIONS

"The Meeting of Two Marxists on the 40th Anniversary of the Chilean Coup," History@Work, National Council on Public History, Sept. 11, 2013. Internet.

"Public Memorials as Popular Narratives: Activist History in Post-Dictatorship Chile," eds., Trevor Getz and Thomas Padilla, *Subjecting History: Building a Relationship between History and its Alternatives* (Ohio University Press, 2014). Print.

"Subjecting History: Launching a Digital Open Review Process," History@Work, National Council on Public History, Mar. 13, 2013. Internet.

"The Utility of an International Vision of Public History," History@Work, National Council on Public History, Feb. 4, 2013. Internet.

"Letters from Chile: A Dead Dictator's Homage, a Public History Movement," History@Work, National Council on Public History, June 25, 2012. Internet.

"National Stadium, National Memory: A Personal Letter," History@Work, National Council on Public History, June 6, 2012. Internet.

"History on a Shoestring at Nido 20: A Memory Site in its Infancy," History@Work, National Council on Public History, April 16, 2012. Internet.

"Memorial Paine's Everyday Lives: Local Stories with Universal Lessons," History@Work, National Council on Public History, Apr. 5, 2012. Internet.

"Bougainvillea and Bitter Memories: Villa Grimaldi Park for Peace," History@Work, National Council on Public History, Mar. 30, 2012. Internet.

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"Chile's Complicated Commemoration of 1973," Off The Wall, National Council on Public History, Oct. 10, 2010. Internet

AWARDS

Michael Bransfield Prize 2014

UCSB Graduate Division Central Dissertation Fellowship 2013

Robert L. Kelley Fellowship 2012

Ford Dissertation Fellowship, Hon. Mention 2012

UCSB Graduate Opportunity Fellowship 2011

Fulbright Dissertation (Finalist) 2011

Ken Moure and Sarah Morquay Graduate Student Award 2010

Loyola University Chicago, Magna Cum Laude 2006

Loyola University Presidential Scholarship 2003/06

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Public History

Studies in Public History with Professor Randy Bergstrom

Studies in Memory Studies with Professor Harold Marcuse

Studies in Latin American History with Professor Cecilia Méndez

Studies in Historical-Sociology with Professor John Foran

ABSTRACT

The Public History of a Concentration Camp: Historical Tales of Tragedy and Hope at the National Stadium of Chile

by

Zachary D. McKiernan.

On September 11, 1973, forces of evil converted the National Stadium of Chile into a concentration camp. That day, the nation's military and security forces overthrew the constitutionally elected government of President Salvador Allende Gossens. For the next fifty-eight days thousands of Chileans and hundreds of foreigners experienced violations of human dignity, physical integrity, and political consciousness. The stadium became the physical and figurative starting point for seventeen years of state-sponsored terrorism under the regime of Augusto Pinochet. Today, though, this is hardly a secret, as stories of the stadium-as-concentration camp have circulated since 1973 to the present in testimonies and memoirs, truth commissions and international reports, newspaper and media accounts, documentaries and movies, and ephemeral commemorations and permanent memorials. At different times, in different ways, and for different reasons, former stadium prisoners, human rights activists, journalists, judges, state officials, and scholars have sounded off, sometimes in a complementary fashion, other times to clash. Despite the volumes of searchable material (books, memoirs, testimonies) and less tangible but equally telling commemorative events

(vigils, theatre productions, public art) that continue at the stadium, no single work has attempted to synthesize, organize, and analyze this historic corpus.

The Public History of a Concentration Camp: Historical Tales of Tragedy and Hope at the National Stadium of Chile does this and, in doing so, contributes to the stadium camp's history in unique ways. A public history lens provides fresh perspectives on the production of historic work at and memories of the National Stadium-as-concentratin camp over forty years (1973-2013). Its focus on popularly constructed narratives' interaction with official silences and versions demonstrates both *how* and *why* stadium stakeholders—especially from the *residual*—have constructed the tales of tragedy and hope. As it focuses on this popular historical work *The Public History of a Concentration Camp* has focused, too, on the formative power of the specific place in the formation of public memory. Rather than begin with selected processes or events and look for places where they unfolded and happened, this study gains insight from joining public and popular practitioners who begin at a specific place and ask: *what happened here?*[1] The unique public and place-based approach also joins recent conversations concerning historic sites of conscience not only in Chile but worldwide. Framing the popular historical work at the stadium generally and its complicated human rights museum 'National Stadium, National Memory' specifically against the backdrop of the sites of memory in Chile offers context for local interpretation of human rights as much as the reciprocal relationship between these organic understandings and international conventions. *The Public History of a Concentration: Historical Tales of Tragedy and Hope at the National Stadium of Chile* continues this important historical trajectory in the form of a scholarly monograph, only made possible through the popular work that has preceded it.

[1] David Glassberg, *Sense of History: The Place of the Past in American Life* (Amherst, University of Massachusetts, 2001), 111

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Prologue

On September 11, 1973, forces of evil converted the National Stadium of Chile into a concentration camp. That day, the nation's military and security forces overthrew the constitutionally elected government of President Salvador Allende Gossens. For the next fifty-eight days, a newly installed military junta used the iconic stadium as a place of detention, torture, and death. The stadium-as-concentration camp didn't only symbolize the mass arrests and general repression immediately after the military coup. It also represented the physical and figurative starting point for seventeen years of human rights violations under the dictator General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte. On that same day, alternative forces launched a vigorous human rights movement. Victims' family members, sectors of Chile's religious communities, and organizations from the international community began to mobilize against Pinochet. Though it took nearly two decades, the movement against evil ultimately overthrew the dictatorship. On March 11, 1990, Chileans celebrated the inauguration of a new democracy under President Patricio Aylwin—at the National Stadium. In a triumphant ceremony titled *Chile, The Way I like It*, seventy-thousand citizens witnessed the return to democracy, draped in human rights language and symbolism. The Chilean writer Ariel Dorfman described the emotional encounter as an "unspoken and painful task… we set ourselves that day: to repeatedly liberate, in the years to come, all the zones, one after the other that Pinochet had invaded." More than a decade later, on September 11, 2003, human rights activists secured the stadium as a National Historic Monument precisely because of its role as a concentration camp thirty years prior. In 2005, I visited the stadium for the very first time to watch a soccer match with a Chilean classmate, Joaquin—and learned of the

stadium's historic role. Since then, the history and memory of the stadium-as-concentration camp has been central to my intellectual development and, in no small part, the formation of my historical vocation and personhood.

Between September 2011 and June 2012, I lived in Santiago and practiced public history at the stadium. As an invited member of the museum project 'National Stadium, National Memory'—the latest and largest initiative to memorialize the stadium's use as a concentration camp—I acted as a researcher, docent, advocate, and ally. During the course of that tenure, I became intimately familiar with the stadium's memorial stakeholders and, also, the people and places that comprised Santiago's Sites of Memory Network, which was founded in January, 2012 to "promote human rights and strengthening of democracy" through collaboration between and memory projects at the physical sites connect to human rights violations.[2] These relations, moreover, extended into the broader human rights community and movement. They also merged with other social movements and issues—especially the strong student movement's manifestations of that year. It was an exciting time. Chile had recently celebrated its bicentennial and wrestled with the memories of dictatorship as the fortieth anniversary of the military coup fast approached. History and memory, it seemed, were everywhere. One example erupted on National Television of Chile (TVN) with the popular mini-series *Archivos del Cardenal*, which dramatized twelve jarring

[2] This group includes the sites of memory at former centers of detention and torture in Santiago such as Villa Grimaldi Park for Peace, Nido 20, José Domingo Cañas 1367, Memorial Paine, Ex Clinica Santa Maria and 3 y 4 Alamos; see, www.sitiosdememoria.cl. Another group united by membership with the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience includes Villa Grimaldi Park for Peace, Nido 20, José Domingo Cañas 1367, Memorial Paine, Museum of Memory and Human Rights, and National Stadium, National Memory. Another important site of memory—or site *for* memory—is Londres 38, which consciously maintains autonomy from the state and other organizations. All of these sites, individually and together, played important roles during my research tenure in Chile. The relationships between them and the activists who staff them, moreover, though falling outside the scope of this study, helped me to understand the tensions and contradictions existing within the sites of memory network specifically and human rights movement more generally.

human rights cases collected by the Vicariate of Solidarity under Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez during the dictatorship.[3] Another was an homage to the infamous DINA (Dirección de Ineligencia Nacional, the former Chilean National Intelligence Directorate) torturer Miguel Krasnoff led by Cristian Labbé—the mayor of the Providencia—that ended violently as police forces cracked down on anti-homage protesters.[4] And another still was when the administration of conservative President Sebastian Piñera changed the term used to denote the Pinochet regime in primary school curriculum books from "dictatorship" to "military regime." A raucous debate ensued, with resistance ultimately voiding the name change. The symbolic politics of anniversaries clashed with the popular media, pro-regime commemorations, and official education policy. Meanwhile, Pinochet's victims' continued their demands on and denunciations of the state, human rights organizations inaugurated new memorials, and the Piñera government (2010-2014)—the first conservative regime since the 1990 transition to democracy—came under attack.

[3] See author's review of this TVN series, "The Reality of Fiction in Post-Pinochet Chile: Los Archivos del Cardenal," http://ncphoffthewall.blogspot.com/2011/11/reality-of-fiction-in-post-pinochet.html

[4] Providencia is an upper-middle class neighborhood in Santiago. Labbé was mayor between 1996 and 2012. He also worked for Pinochet's security apparatus, DINA, National Directorate of Intelligence. Labbé visited Pinochet fourteen times while the latter was under house arrest in London between October 16, 1998 and March 3, 2000.

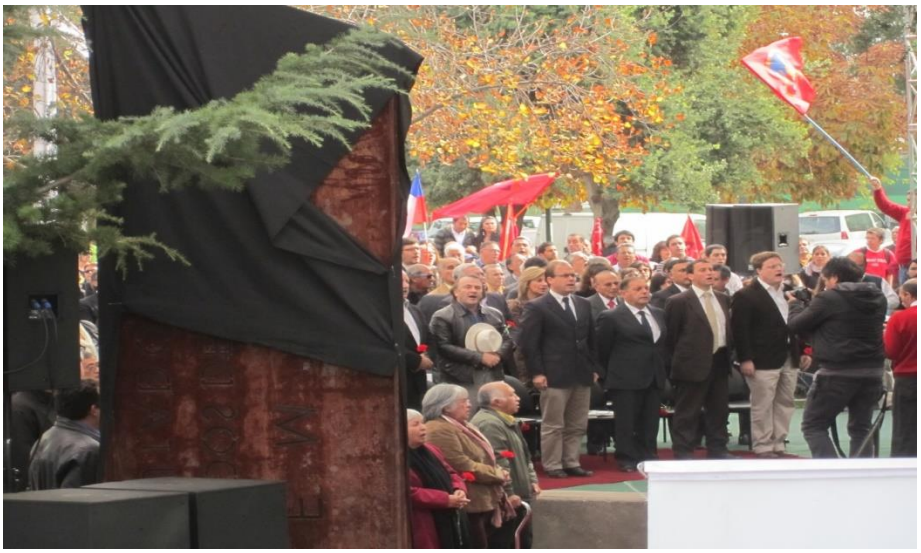

Figure 1. May 21, 2012 inauguration of the Memorial of the Detained Disappeared and Politically Executed in the Plaza de Armas of Maipu, Santiago. Photo by author.

I arrived in Chile to work with the museum project 'National Stadium, National Memory,' the ambitious initiative that had grown out of stadium's 2003 historic monument designation. This experience would give form to my dissertation. And it did, though in unexpected ways. I intended to write the history of the stadium's museum project, using observer-participant insights to add flavor and perspective to archival work and interviews—the more traditional historic methods of analyzing primary and secondary sources, and the relations between them. I was curious to learn and explain how public history could work in the service of human rights—and, indeed, to observe how activists extended human rights by claiming a fundamental "right for memory." However, I soon realized that this was insufficient and two things had to be done. First, to understand the history of 'National Stadium, National Memory,' I needed to dig deeper into the history of the memory of the stadium-as-concentration camp, reaching back into the historical roots in the dictatorship. Second, I needed to locate 'National Stadium, National Memory' within the context of the

budding movement of sites of memory specifically and human rights memorials more generally in Chile's nascent democracy.

While in the Southern Cone country, the National Stadium (and 'National Stadium, National Memory') was a fixture in my activities and research, a point of departure and reference. Initially, between September 2011 and March 2012, I worked closely with the project's stakeholders, especially the representatives and allies of the Metropolitan Region of Ex Political Prisoners (RMEPP), the group responsible for the memorial project. Nearly every Saturday, I would meet RMEPP's president at her centrally located Santiago apartment and take a taxi to the stadium, a distance of about three miles. There, we would meet with trained-docents and conduct "memory route" tours of the stadium. Diverse groups and interested individuals visited the stadium after learning about the "memory route" advertised on the radio or by word of mouth or by invitation.[5] Sometimes I would translate for mono-English speaking audiences. On five occasions I was the sole interpreter. In one instance, RMEPP's president and I walked the grounds and shared the project with a leading historian of Chilean memory, Steve J. Stern. In other instances, I would wander the "memory route" by myself, talking to and observing grounds-keepers, security guards, and stadium visitors.

Beyond the Saturday visits, I helped plan and prepare for human rights events at the stadium hosted by RMEPP. These included the September 11th commemoration, the December 10th event in honor of International Human Rights Day, and the March 8th celebration for International Women's Day. On these special days, guests visited *Escotilla 8*,

[5] The project committee for National Stadium, National Memory—headed by RMEPP president Wally Kunstmann—received funding from the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience to train thirty docents for the memory route. The training sessions were conducted by the historian Alejandra Lopéz, also a project committee member, and the historian César Albornoz. Lopéz and Albornoz selected thirty docents out of eighty applications.

the women's locker room, and the *velódromo*—three of the most emblematic sites of the stadium-as-concentration camp and centerpieces of 'National Stadium, National Memory.'[6] They were marked by speeches and candle vigils, musical and theatre acts, and general reverence and celebration. In one spectacular display during the March 8th celebration, we marched and danced and sang—steered by a raucous marching band adorned in costume and colors, a la carnival—from *Escotilla 8* to the *Velódromo* in what was surely a popular exorcism of the stadium. In the days leading up to these events, I swept and cleaned the historically protected sites, hung posters and photographs, and took photographs and notes. I spoke and met with former stadium prisoners, human rights activists, artists and actors, and other volunteers. I looked for and traced with my eyes the outlines of the wall-etchings left by prisoners in 1973. I contemplated the small patch of historically protected wooden bleachers in a sea of modern, plastic stadium seating. I would watch, wander, wonder, imagine. I felt very close to—and a part of—history. It was an exciting time.

Outside of the National Stadium during my research tenure, I often visited Santiago's other sites of memory: Nido 20, José Domingo Cañas 1367, and Villa Grimaldi Park for Peace, among others. I also visited the offices and headquarters of some of Chile's original human rights groups: Association of Relatives of the Politically Executed (AFEP), Social Aid Foundation of Christian Churches (FASIC), and the Vicariate of Solidarity.[7] Either through human rights events, invitations, or scheduled interviews, I attended and witnessed a

[6] *Escotilla 8* is one of eight passageways beneath the stadium's stands that housed prisoners. It is the only historically protected *Escotilla*. The women's locker located next to stadium's Olympic swimming pool is where women prisoners were held. Its location is adjacent to the principal coliseum, approximately five-hundred yards from *Escotilla 8*. The *velódromo*—or bike track—is located at the southeast edge of the stadium's 62 hectare grounds. It is where the security forces tortured savagely.

[7] Fundación de Ayuda Social de las Iglesias Cristianas was established in 1975. The Vicariate of Solidarity was established in 1976 as the successor organization of Committee for Cooperation for Peace in Chile (COPACHI). The Vicariate ceased original operations in 1992 after Pinochet's ouster but continued under the Foundation of Archives and Documentation of the Vicariate of Solidarity.

remarkable amount of human rights activity based on the history and memory of the Pinochet dictatorship. At José Domingo Cañas 1367, I would sometimes help with the Wednesday *velatones*—a more than decade long tradition that activists had begun during the recovery efforts of the one-time torture house—visited with friends, and contributed to "sites of memory" meetings. Other times, I would go to FASIC's archives with former high school history teacher and activist Erika Spuler. We searched that organization's testimonial records from 1975 and 1976 to try to establish if any of Pinochet's victims left evidence of passing through the clandestine torture center turned museum known as Nido 20, where Spuler worked. At Londres 38, I participated in human rights and memory symposiums and listened intently to the wise words of the distinguished historian Leopoldo Montealegre during a handful of friendly conversations.

The culmination of these activities and experiences—among many more—greatly contributed to my knowledge of memory, history, and human rights in Chile. Equally as important as my critical reviews of relevant literature, readings of other scholars concerning memory sites, and theoretical insights into these areas of study, witnessing how they played out in practice proved pivotal to what I saw as the practice of public history in a post-dictatorship democracy. At, through, and related to the sites of memory network in Chile, I sensed a strong commitment to and understanding of public history practitioners, where, as Roy Rosenzweig put it in the U.S. case, "Like professional historians, [these] popular history makers crafted their own narratives, albeit as dinner-table conversations or family trees rather than scholarly monographs."[8] For Rozenzweig's subjects, the past mattered very much in people's everyday lives. In the case of Chile, where subjects live and create their own

[8] Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 178

narratives in the aftermath of dictatorship and human rights violations, the case is the same. However, in Chile, the immediacy of dictatorship and the urgency to tell narratives after dictatorship against a tide of official consensus and silence in democracy, the popular history makers I met, befriended, witnessed, and worked with intoned a sense of moral duty and civic responsibility in their everyday historical practices. From a social history perspective, the Chilean historians Gabriel Salazar, Mario Garcés, and Pablo Artaza have based this type of narrative construction in a subject's sense of historicity. That is,

> Not the past for the past, not memory for memory, but what historicity implies, which is precisely the drama of having to take actions, assess the future, and insert and incorporate the past in it… [Therefore] the historic subject…assumes historicity, has to make decisions, and has to give form to his /her present-future: [he/she] has to construct society from the base of [his/her] historic memory.[9]

The conversations around the Chilean dinner tables I listened to with activists unequivocally aimed at the historic memory of their experiences of human rights violations and, following, the ability—or responsibility and, further, right—to act and publicly express remembrances in the present for the future, whether through memorials, monuments, vigils, commemorations, unofficial truth projects, and so forth.

Around the dinner table of RMEPP's president, Wally Kunstmann, I had sat dozens of times. The first time was in 2008 while I conducted research for my M.A. thesis: *Making Memory Matter: The National Stadium of Chile and the Politics of Post-Dictatorship Memory*. In that work, I sought to understand how Chileans could use the National Stadium as a memory tool given the complex struggle of what Stern established as the memory question: How to remember the origins, violence, and legacy of Pinochet. It occurred to me

[9] Gabriel Salazar, Mario Garcés, and Pablo Artaza, "La Historia Social: Sujeto social e historicidad en la construcción de memoria para la acción," ed. Verónica Vives Cofré, *Cuaderno de Trabajo Volumen 1: Memoria, Historia y Derechos Humanos*, (Santiago de Chile: Universidad de Chile, 2011), pp. 67-83

that the stadium's cultural significance as a "national icon" mixed with its toxic use as a concentration camp in 1973 made it a representative *and* unique to approach the question of memory. I believed that the stadium could be a prism or lens whose events refracted the social, political, and cultural processes within the broader public sphere. I argued that the National Stadium was instrumental—if not emblematic—in the identification, interpretation, and preservation of the recent past and, necessarily, whether (and how) that past was remembered and represented. To aid my endeavor, I formulated two guiding questions: How did Chileans conceptualize the recent past by remembering and reflecting on the stadium? And, how is it possible to use the stadium as a memory tool to investigate Chile's past historical processes? By tackling the former, I hoped to sketch the answers to the latter. That is, once the stadium was conceptualized as an important site of memory, then the follow-on question attended to the use or *activation* of such an instrument.

By taking a critical look at the National Stadium, I hoped to contribute to scholarly and popular conversations concerning the politics of remembering in contemporary Chile. I understood the stadium as a "surface of inscription" that allowed Chileans to engage that past, creating a bridge between personal memories and collective remembrances, a bridge that linked the stadium's events to larger processes, and a bridge that spanned the past, present, and future.[10] One of the single most important conclusions I arrived at was the prominence of camp phase of the stadium. This event was clearly distinguishable in the sources I consulted, the interviews I conducted, and the casual conversations that I had. Despite the stadium's long and colorful history, the toxicity of the concentration camp

[10] Chilean Nelly Richard argued that in Chile "memory needs surfaces of inscription to record itself so that the lived relationship between mark, texture, and event can liberate new capabilities of meaning," *Cultural Residuals: Chile in Transition,* Trans. Alan West-Durán and Theodore Quester (Minneapolis and London, University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 6

appeared to be the common thread of the stadium narratives. In the memory environment that characterized Chile in the mid-2000s, it proved impossible to avoid the stadium's ill-fated role in 1973. This shouldn't have come as a surprise, however. The military dictatorship that reduced some Chilean lives to hell while propelling others to pride and privilege was exactly why the country suffered from and struggled with a memory question. That the concentration camp marked ground zero for this societal schism—coupled with the stadium's cultural import before and after the fifty-eight days—made it a site of contested memory. Not only did it represent and reflect the realities of the military years—torture and terror, disappearance and death—but the stadium's material, symbolic, and functional properties were intrinsically woven into the everyday (and yesterday) fabric of Chileans' memories.[11] It was a container of experiences, a treasure chest of memories, and a patrimony to all.

The conversation at Kunstmann's table in 2008 turned my attention to the grassroots museum project 'National Stadium, National Memory' and, by extension, the popular ways in which its advocates activated the stadium as a memory tool. In the post-dictatorship climate, with the memory question central to Chile's politico-cultural legitimacy, unsettled subjects from civil society mobilized around the stadium's toxic history. Popular calls for truth and justice countered official insistence on consensus and reconciliation. The stadium-as-concentration camp became a boon for human rights activists such as Kunstmann and a host of others. That same year I met and interviewed the journalist Carmen Luz Parot. Parot directed the award-winning documentary *Estadio Nacional* (2001) and explained her

[11] Pierre Nora proposed the term 'sites of memory' (*les lieux de mémoire*) as a way of referring to those "material, symbolic, and functional spaces in which societies anchor and relate their memories of the past: books, monuments, archives, anniversaries, depositions, films, festivals." Quoted in Michael Lazzara, *Chile in Transition: The Poetics and Politics of Memory* (University Press of Florida, 2006)

discontent in the way the media portrayed the stadium camp. The media's "token coverage" coupled with the fact that not a single judicial investigation concerning the crimes committed in 1973 had been conducted inspired her to embark on the documentary project in 2000. Her film *Estadio Nacional* would have a major impact on the stadium camp's memorability. It played a crucial role by not only disseminating the stadium's toxic history to wide audiences but it also brought together former stadium prisoners, human rights activists, invested politicians, and many others interested in memorializing the stadium camp at a critical moment in Chile's new democracy (Chapter 4). After my meetings with Kunstmann and Parot, it became clear to me that the stadium's toxic history was being revisited and written by popular history makers.

As I continued to build on these conclusions, it also occurred to me that I needed to pay attention to the stadium camp narratives during the dictatorship, not only after Pinochet was ousted. Where, in fact, did Kunstmann and Parot receive their knowledge? What sources and stories were being constructed about the stadium camp during Pinochet's reign? And where? This led me from the history of the human rights project 'National Stadium, National Memory' to the very first memorial markings at the stadium camp: wall-etchings left by the prisoners in 1973. In a certain way, the popular historical trajectory of the stadium camp narrative—or the public history of the concentration camp—was bookended by the stadium's first memorial markings in 1973 and the latest and largest memorial manifestation in the present, 'National Stadium, National Memory.' It was my task to labor within these coordinates. Where my previous research portrayed the stadium as a type of memory tool, the subsequent public history perspective broadened the analytical scope of the stadium camp

narrative, allowing me to investigate and explain the popular historical memory work over four decades.

The Public History of a Concentration Camp: Historical Tales of Tragedy and Hope at the National Stadium of Chile contributes to the stadium camp's history in unique ways. It analyzes the popular, professional, and official narratives and silences over forty years, with priority given to the popular portrayals. This choice reflects not so much the insufficiencies of the latter—though that is also a reason. Rather, the popular narratives and historical memory work of the stadium camp show both *how* and *why* former prisoners, human rights activists, and others from the *residual* have constructed the historical tales of tragedy and hope. However, it also demonstrates how the popular narratives developed in interaction or against other narratives to ultimately become the dominant national public memory. At it focuses on popular historical work *The Public History of a Concentration Camp* has focused, too, on the formative power of the specific place in the formation of public memory. Rather than begin with selected processes or events and look for places where they unfolded and happened, this study gains insight from joining public and popular practitioners who begin at a specific place and ask: *what happened here?*[12] Exactly what happened at the National Stadium as the bright light of a democratic revolution was dimmed by the ferocity of fascism and global forces of Cold War imperialism? David Glassberg has argued that "Public histories provide[e] meaning to place… [And] places loom large not only in our personal recollections but also in the collective memories of our communities."[13] Under this astute prescription, analyzing what happened—and *who* is asking what happened—at the National Stadium in 1973 puts at the center of memory formation how the memory has resonated

[12] David Glassberg, *Sense of History*, 111
[13] Glassberg, pp. 18-19

deeply within the physicality of the still-in-use stadium as it has taken shape in the hearts, minds, and memories of the Chilean community.

Besides a unique place-based history approach to popular historic work, *The Public History of a Concentration Camp* also joins recent conversations concerning historic sites of conscience not only in Chile but worldwide. Framing the popular historical work at the stadium generally and the human rights museum specifically against the backdrop of the sites of memory in Chile offers context for local interpretation of human rights as much as the reciprocal relationship between these organic understandings and international conventions. As part of my research—and to take the pulse of public history in post-Pinochet Chile—I reviewed the interpretive strategies and historic work at six Chilean sites of memory, sites that represented a recent trend in which "historic… sites have become critical elements in current struggles for human rights and democracy."[14] While these six sites offered evidence of "how historic sites can engage citizens in human rights issues," practitioners of public history, I learned, can find themselves in simultaneously precarious personal and political positions. In turn, I formulated two more questions while I visited these similar yet markedly different public places: What type of historic work is taking place? And who is doing that work? Seeking answers to these questions opened an analysis into how Chile and other societies dealt and are dealing with disputed pasts *and* the legacies of toxic sites.[15]

The concentration camp installed inside the National Stadium for fifty-eight days in 1973 marked the beginning of a brutal seventeen-year dictatorship. More than forty years

[14] Memorialization and Democracy: State Policy and Civic Action Conference, Final Report, Santiago, June, 2007

[15] Zachary McKiernan, "Letter's from Chile: Historic Work and Otherwise at Six Sites of Memory," History@Work, National Council on Public History, March 14-June 25, 2012. This series consisted of eight articles; see, http://publichistorycommons.org/letters-from-chile-the-working-of-history-at-six-sites-of-memory/

later, the history and memory of the stadium camp are as relevant as they are incomplete. Questions remain, contestation continues. Amnesty International launched its "Goal of Silence" campaign for a Chile-Venezuela soccer match at the stadium on September 6, 2013. The organization asked players and fans to remain silent during the first goal of the match in order to commemorate the concentration camp of four decades ago, to no avail. Some eighteen months later on March 4, 2014, 'National Stadium, National Memory' inaugurated a new memorial inside the principal entrance to the stadium—with funding coming directly from the state, a first. The uneven implementation of the ambitious human rights museum at the site inches forward. And the annual September 11th candlelight vigils at the stadium continue in earnest, growing from a few anonymous candles in the late 1980s to an event today attended by hundreds if not thousands. *The Public History of a Concentration: Historical Tales of Tragedy and Hope at the National Stadium of Chile* continues this trajectory in the form of a scholarly monograph, only made possible through the popular work that has preceded it.

Chapter I: Introduction

The first human rights memorial. Campo de detenidos del estadio nacional. Centro de concentración. Liberation and democracy. 58 tragic days. National Stadium narratives. Place-memory, public history. Emblematic memory knots. National patrimony. International echoes. Chapter summaries.

The Chilean novelist Ariel Dorfman began the Dedication of his book *Exorcising Terror: The Incredible Unending Trial of General Augusto Pinochet* at the Memorial to the Disappeared and Executed in Santiago's general cemetery, where five of his friends' names are inscribed, the disappeared and executed of the Pinochet regime.[16] Next to these names are over a thousand more, and next to these: simply empty spaces in the memorial wall that signify the still unfound bodies of the disappeared, waiting in eternal silence the unlikely return to the cemetery for a dignified departure. "The (memorial) wall itself, like this book, can never really be complete," Dorfman observed of this, the first human rights memorial erected after Pinochet's outser. But what Dorfman deftly described about the intentionally incomplete memorial doesn't only have to do with these symbolically empty spaces. Instead he reminded the reader that:

> The Chilean memorial does not include the names of those who lost their jobs and their homes and their health insurance and their pensions after the 1973 coup, a number estimated to be over a million. It does not include the men from the shantytowns who, night after night, were rounded up by patrols and beaten and made to stand at attention, naked, in a soccer field while beyond the glaring spotlights their wives and mothers and children were forced to watch. Nor do the names on the wall include almost a million exiles or migrants—close to one tenth of Chile's population at the time of the military takeover.

Pinochet's repression was so complete, in fact, that no one memorial could possibly remember or commemorate or tell the histories of all those who fell victim to, resisted, and fought against Pinochet.

[16] Ariel Dorfman, *Exorcising Terror: The Incredible Unending Trial of General Augusto Pinochet*, (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2002. The book's cover displays the iconic photograph of a National Stadium prisoner s by North American David Burnett.

To this complexity, Dorfman poses another problem, one that heightens the need of remembrance of the military leaders' overthrow of the Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende. Their oppression produced such an excess of political and other prisoners, housewives, union leaders, government officials, citizens from around the globe, that the military had to compensate with makeshift prisons—concentration camps, some have called—to facilitate the thousands upon thousands arrested in the initial aftermath of the bloody, U.S. backed coup on September 11, 1973.[17] Most prominently, Dorfman recalled the conversion of Chile's "largest sports arena," the National Stadium, "into a gigantic concentration camp." After two months of officially operating as the Campo de Detenidos del Estadio Nacional under the command of Army Colonel Jorge Espinoza Ulloa, the site was white-washed, cleaned and painted, and turned over to FIFA in order to host a World Cup qualifying soccer match between Chile and the USSR. The Soviet team never showed up, of course, for the November 21th match. And when the Chileans unceremoniously scored the goal against a team of ghosts to gain entry into the World Cup Finals, Pinochet's media mouthpiece and oldest established newspaper *El Mercurio* labeled it "The Goal of Honor." Years later Chilean national soccer team member Carlos Caszely contradicted that and called it "The stupidest goal that I've ever seen in my life."[18] Today some in the international soccer community recognize that event as the "saddest day in soccer history."

[17] Observers have classified Pinochet's repression into three distinct stages. The first characterizes the mass arrests in the months after the coup and the dragnet that imprisoned people from most sectors of Chilean society. The second is from 1974 to 1978 when DINA (National Intelligence Directorate) targeted leftist political militants in a macabre and torturous way. Finally, between 1978 and 1990, DINA was refitted as the CNI (National Information Center) and operated as Pinochet's secret intelligence agency.

[18] Carlos Caszely, *La Tercera*, September 10, 2001, quoted in Pascale Bonnefoy, *Terrorismo de Estadio: Prisioneros de Guerra en un Campo de Deportes* (2005)

Dorfman, re-entered Chile after ten years of exile and vowed he would never return to the National Stadium, a vow that he wouldn't take alone. But he broke that vow because what he "needed was to witness some sort of act that would transform the stadium, that would reject its purported normality as obscene and confront the terrible pain still echoing there." He broke his vow never to return to the site of Pinochet's largest prison to inaugurate Chile's return to democracy on March 12, 1990 at the stadium. The event entitled "Chile, The Way I Like It" had President Patricio Aylwin take center stage at the stadium to pledge Nunca Más—Never Again. Aylwin proclaimed, "From this spot, which in the sad days of blind and hateful dominance of force over reason was for many a place of prison and torture, we say to all Chileans and to the world that is watching us: Never again insults to human dignity! Never again hate between brothers! Never again fratricidal violence!"[19] (Coincidently, Aylwin's words were strikingly close to the last presidential inauguration address at the stadium, Salvador Allende's on September 5, 1970: "From the bottom of our hearts, we Chileans reject fratricidal struggle… Our coat of arms says "By Reason or Force," but it puts Reason first.)[20] Aylwin's "act of exorcism against the backdrop of the majestic Andes" was well documented. It saw the unfurling of Chile's largest flag ever sewn cover completely the stadium's infield, the symbolic dance of the "*cueca sola*" by relatives of the "disappeared," the young Chilean girl born in exile, clad in white, approaching Aylwin to hand over a sealed box that read: Todos Somos Iguales en Dignidad y Derecho—We Are All Equal in Dignity and Right. This box today holds a place in the permanent exhibit at the

[19] Aylwin quoted in Mary Helen Spooner's *Soldiers in a Narrow Land: The Pinochet Regime in Chile*. Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press (1994), 256

[20] Salvador Allende's Inaugural Address in the National Stadium, Santiago, November 5, 1970 in James D. Cockcroft's *Chile's Voice of Democracy: Salvador Allende Reader*, Melbourne: Ocean Press (2000), 54

Museum of Memory and Human Rights.[21] Dorfman described this emotional encounter of seventy thousand Chileans "crying together" as an "unspoken and painful task…we set ourselves that day: to repeatedly liberate, in the years to come, all the zones, one after the other that Pinochet had invaded."[22]

More than twenty years have passed since that historic event at the National Stadium, the liberation of a zone invaded by Pinochet. But Dorfman's words proved premature despite his best intentions. Before, during, and after that day, the National Stadium has continued to be a constant source of tension despite its "liberation" and because of it. The euphoria that surrounded Chile's return to democracy at the stadium was short-lived and the task to liberate invaded zones throughout Chile would be a long time coming.[23] Many people had little idea or refused to see how deep Pinochet's repression actually ran; many still self-censored and were afraid to speak about atrocities and clandestine prisons. Pinochet, removed from the seat of presidential power, still remained the head of the very powerful Armed Forces. He would later enjoy further authority and immunity when he traded his General's stars for a seat as a self-appointed Senator for Life in Chilean parliament. Along with this, Aylwin's initial strong stance on human rights reparations, an exemplary (but still flawed) National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation, and official apologies and state-sponsored commemorative acts were quickly tempered by the Reconciliation President's observation on August 7, 1991: "The transition is now complete. In Chile we live in

[21] Translation: We Are All Equal in Dignity and Right. Chile inaugurated the Museum of Memory and Human Rights under President Michelle Bachelet's government in 2010; See my review, The Museum of Memory and Human Rights: Making Consensus Matter?, May 23, 2013, http://publichistorycommons.org/the-museum-of-memory-and-human-rights-making-consensus-matter/

[22] Dorfman, 13

[23] Gregory Weeks argues that the Chilean military continued to play a defining role in the transition to democracy, that it "has managed to maintain an active presence in politics from 1988 to 2002." *The Military and Politics in Post-Authoritarian Chile*. Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 2003

democracy."[24] It would take Pinochet's surprise arrest in 1998 in London on a warrant issued by a Spanish judge to reignite the initial emotions that accompanied the return to democracy in 1990—and to renew with urgency the liberation of zones, one by one, that Pinochet had invaded, violated, and made toxic with torturous poison.[25] Even with this, it would still take an award winning documentary, an investigation into an American's death, and the thirtieth anniversary of the military coup in 2003 to galvanize support and bring the horrors—and hopes—of the concentration camp back to the public field of memory.

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Five-thousand, ten-thousand, twenty-thousand, perhaps forty-thousand prisoners felt the very first violations of human dignity, bodily integrity, and political consciousness under the Pinochet regime inside the National Stadium between September 11 and November 9, 1973. For fifty-eight days the stadium stood at the symbolic and lived center of the onset of seventeen years of human right violations. For many of the countless thousands of Chileans who suffered the subsequent seventeen years of repression, exile, imprisonment, torture, and indignity, the popularly recognized *centro de concentración* would emerge as a starting point for dissident memory and truth-telling narratives. So intense was the stadium experience, immense the number of people who experienced it, and dark this moment when Chilean history and society took its cruelest turn that it has been seared into the collective consciousness and identity of the Chilean people.

[24] Aylwin quoted in Lazarra *Chile in Transition: The Poetics and Politics of Memory* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 19; Lazarra claims "from that moment forward, human rights all but disappeared from the administration's public agenda, and the struggle to remember came to be associated almost exclusively with the human rights organizations or the victims themselves."

[25] For a smart look at the immediate post-dictatorship complications, its contradictions, its "official story" and "dissident voices," see Michael Lazzara's *Chile in Transition: The Poetic and Politics of Memory*, Introduction

Some forty years later, the tragic fifty-eight days of the stadium's history in 1973 is hardly a secret. The stadium-as-concentration camp story has appeared in testimonies and memoirs, truth commissions and international reports, newspapers and media accounts, and documentaries and movies. Untold numbers of unrecorded conversations about events at the stadium have joined commemorations at the stadium to aid in circulating the stories and memories of the stadium's ill-fated role of 1973. Immediately after the coup, journalists brought the first glimpses of the stadium-as-concentration camp to national and international audiences. In the years that followed Chilean exiles who had been imprisoned and tortured inside the stadium published memoirs and denunciations about those experiences. In those same years, the stadium-as-concentration camp became recorded in reports of commissions and organizations condemning the dictatorship. During the 1980s the stadium-as-concentration camp stories began appearing in print for the first time inside of Chile however slightly. The Association of Relatives of the Politically Executed published the first book about the stadium camp in 1988, *El Estadio Nacional*, based on survivor testimonies. After the 1990 return to democracy these stories and the human rights violations committed during the dictatorship were effectively silenced in public by a new standard of official history geared towards reconciliation and consensus; though, private memory expressions continued to circulate stories, images, and emotions connected to the concentration camp. Pinochet's 1998 arrest accelerated and publicized these expressions, reversed the trend of silence and self-censorship, and mobilized civil society around the remembrance of the concentration camp in unprecedented ways. By 2003 popular and official narratives and desires had mixed, and the National Stadium was declared a National Monument. Since then, the stadium-as-concentration camp has received more scrutiny through the lens of a troubled human rights

museum at the site, increased commemorative and ritual events, and a growing academic literature concerned with public memorials, memorialization, and democracy building. Throughout all of this, former stadium prisoners, journalists, politicians, exiles, scholars, students, lawyers, laymen and women, poets, and grassroots and government organizations have had their hands in the construction of the narrative of the National Stadium as it was for fifty-eight days in 1973.

No single study has yet attempted to synthesize, catalogue, or analyze these diverse developments. The existing scholarly, journalistic, testimonial, official, and popular work focused on the stadium-as-concentration camp has involved little effort to historicize fully its distinctive memory and the changing meanings of the atrocities committed there in 1973. On one hand, much of the scholarly and official work which surveys the stadium-as-concentration camp has valuably viewed the story in the larger narratives of traumatic memory and painful history. Important authors such as Steve Stern (2006), Macarena Gomez-Barrios (2009), Michael Lazarra (2006), and Nelly Richard (2006, 2013) have flagged the National Stadium in 1973 as an emblematic place and/or the site of emblematic events in their memory studies of Chile's recent history. However, similar to the coverage of the stadium-as-concentration camp in Chile's two truth commissions (1990, 2004)—in surveying the national experience, these scholars' efforts can offer only brief descriptions of the stadium camp, as they note its symbolic significance. On the other hand, testimonial, journalistic, auto-biographical, memorial, and more popular work have richly recovered the fifty-eight painful days, but await analysis and comparison connecting stadium events in 1973 to longer processes and practices of subsequent public memory formation. Important contribitors to connect the stadium camp recollection historiography include Rolando

Carrasco (1977), Association of Relatives of the Politically Executed (1988), Adolfo Cozzi (2000), Carmen Luz Parot (2003), Pascale Bonnefoy (2005), and the museum 'National Stadium, National Memory' (2010). In essence, the historiography of and historical work concerning the stadium falls into two principal and sometimes overlapping camps. The first group examples the stadium-as-concentration camp in the more general context of the memory debates and literature that have emerged from Chile in recent decades. The second group zeroes in on its incarnation-as-concentration camp. These literaturess suggest the opportunity for deeper understanding in intensive study of the production of public memory at the stadium from the moment of concentration camp creation to its designation as a historic atrocity memorial site, examining the complexly intwewoven history of the stadium brutality and the memory of it—in time and through time.

One thing that suich a focus on the making of public historical meaning over time at the stadim can bring to bear is the idea of place-memory. To the exciting and critical memory debates that have emerged in Chile in the past two decades, the scholarhip of place memory contributes an analysis of power in the material, performative, and intellectual-emotive perception of the particulars composes in "place." "Constancy of place," Maurice Halbwachs insisted, "is a formidable basis for establishing a strong sense of sameness… they [physical surroundings] constitute a reliable locus of memories and often serve as major foci of personal as well as group nostalgia."[26] Later, the philosopher Edward Casey suggested that the idea of place-memory "is the stabilizing persistence of place as a container of experiences that contributes to its intrinsic memorability. An alert and alive memory connects spontaneously with place, finding in its features that favor and parallel its own

[26] Maurice Halbwachs cited in Evita Zerubavel, *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 41

activities. We might even say memory is naturally place-oriented or at least publicly supported."[27] The Nation Stadium-as-concentration camp and the memories that events there invoke would benefit from the application of these observations. In most cases, stadium narratives have connected in those ways, both qute spontaneously and more deliberately through public assertion and contention. To explain how and with what consequence requires the rigorous analysis of what architectural historian Dolores Hayden has called the *power of place* or historian David Glassberg's *sense of place*—a particular place's ability to nourish, upset, work and re-work the social memories and individual cognizance of collective or shared experiences. Twenty-five years after President Aylwin's liberation, the National-Stadium-as-concentration camp sits securely within a national "sites of memory" network and more recent trends at recovering—or liberating—former sites of detention and torture, suggesting just how important place's relation to memory has been in Chile—and how conscious it had become.

Glassberg found this a defining difference for public historians as much as popular practitioners, asserting that

> Indeed orientation to place separates academic from public history, the research of the professional historian from that of his or her neighbor. Historians begin their inquiries into the past by identifying a particular social or political process, then looking for the places where it happened; the public begins with a place that it cares about and the asks, 'What happened here?'[28]

Glassberg's location of place links the role of history and memory to people's everyday lives. He charged that "Places loom large not only in our personal recollections but also in the

[27] Edward Casey, *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000), 186

[28] Glassberg, 111

collective memory of our communities."[29] While historians have been elaborating on the making of historical consciousness over the past few decades, Glassberg noted, other scholarly disciplines have narrowed in on place consciousness. From folklorists to psychologists, these academic and professional disciplines have explored place consciousness, or a "sense of place," and how people bond emotionally to places and how these bonds are reinforced by social networks throughout people's lives. Place-based memories convey connections to and contradictions in the local environment, the community, the neighborhood, the neighbors spinning a story, and so forth. They also provide insight into individuals' identity insofar that people self-identify with and in relation to particular places. Reflecting on a local five-and-dime store's once segregated lunch counter in the American South, for example, may prompt identification with the student activism that pushed for its desegregation or, conversely, for white patrons, the established patriarchy of a community. In other words, these remembrances based in place narrate not just local stories but offer a wide-range of meanings that shape identity and culture. Glassberg surmised that "we attach histories to places, and the environmental value we attach to a place comes largely through the memories and historical associations we have with it," invoking "storied places" and Wallace Stegner's summation that "No place is a place until the things that have happened in it are remembered in history ballads, yarns, legends, or monuments."[30] For Glassberg and others, people attach personal memories, community histories, and individual and group lore to specific places, and these places include emotional triggers that can be calming as much as conflictive. For the public historian as much as his or her neighbor, memory is much more than recall and remembrance. Instead, memory

[29] Glassberg, 19
[30] Wallace Stegner quoted in Glassberg, 116

entails emotional attachment, intense feelings of pain, regret, shame, contentment, community, and, not least, identity.

This National Stadium-as-concentratrion camp's history and historiographgy reflect practiced and methodological challenges and opportunities. The stadium's intrinsic place power coupled with the need to historicize the stadium-as-concentration camp narratives puts the practice and principles of public history in a privileged position to analyze both. Place, memory, and history coalesce as important coordinates that steer this distinct discipline, both from an academic perspective and a practical application of historical methods, knowledge, and production. In another way, in its attention to place, memory, and history, the discipline of public history presents advantages where historians who work with diverse publics can draw on "first-hand knowledge of how historical knowledge is created, institutionalized, disseminated, and understood."[31] A public history approach shows how the culmination of diverse types of narratives of the stadium-as-concentration camp contribute to a collectivity or historic corpus of work that builds inbto a much larger framework of historical consciousness. It also recognizes that the professional historian's narrative production of the stadium-as-concentration camp isn't the sole authoritative account but instead a voice in the chorus of many. In short, approaching the stadium from a public history perspective—and, in turn, the past through a particular place—promotes not only the understanding of vernacular expressions of historical knowledge in Chile but also enables critical examination of context of authorized expressions of history at a prominent public place in the Chilean landscape. Public history knowledge, theories, methods, and practices join with place-memory scholarhip to better understand the stadium-as-concentration camp.

[31] David Glassberg, "Public History and the Study of Memory," *The Public Historian*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Spring, 1996), 8

Approaching the stadium-as-concentration camp from a public history perspective is opportune for myriad reasons. Glassberg points to the wide, but since shrinking, disconnect between "scholarly work on memory" and insights from those working in museums and historic sites.[32] Hilda Kean and Paul Ashton draw from the intellectual influence of Raphael Samuel and cite the move away from the archival experience with history to methods that promote different interpretations of the past.[33] Further still, Daniel K. Walkowitz and Lisa M. Knauer take into account understudied international experiences from the field to direct attention to social spaces and vernacular practices during political transitions as important historical references for remembrance.[34] An activist and survivor witness who works with museum initiative at the former toxic and now liberated site Nido 20 in southern Santiago lamented to me the lack of state support with the sites of memory network, adding "we need all the help we can get."[35]

From these prescriptions, the public history of the stadium-as-concentration camp reveals its advantageous yet complex nature. Ludmilla Jordanova's critical comments on the state of public history reflects its many faces and manifestations: history in practice, usable pasts, and public history in politics. She has highlighted the increasing overlap and interplay among three strains of public history—a slick form found in the media and serving dominant interests; professional public history; and a radical people's history. She insisted that the culmination of these strands reache mass audiences, mobilize "potent feelings that can loosely be described as 'moral,'" is popular, and, also, "a central part of the radical part of

[32] Glassberg, "Public History and the Study of Memory," 9
[33] Paul Ashton and Hilda Kean, eds., *People and Their Pasts: Public History Today* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 3-5
[34] L.M. Knauer and D.J. Walkowitz, *Memory and the Impact of Political Transformation in Public Space* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004)
[35] Personal interview with author, March 2012. Recording in possession of author.

the radical history movements… seek[ing] to promote politically self-conscious, community-based histories, open to all and usable in political struggles."[36] The work that follows below reveals this complex overlap of interested stake-holders in the history and memory making of the stadium-as-concentration camp. It also reveals that professional public history—or academic attention in general—to the stadium camp arrived after both radical, popular history making at the site and slick, official forms of history telling (and silencing). That timing has mattered, I argue. Recognizing that, and also mirroring an ongoing debate in the public history movement, it is important to situate my own work in the analysis, as I analyze. Following the *public* history argument that "the environment in which historians apply their craft impacts the questions, methodology, and content of interpretation," my work reflects engagement with the memory activists, putting as much emphasis on the *public* as *history*, rather than following a public *history* idea "that credentialed historians perform their work in accordance to the same disciplinary standards regardless of location or audience."[37]

As such, the practice of public history, from a researcher's perspective who also actively participates and observes, is distinct. Rebecca Conard insisted that "the fourth dimension of history," demands a reflective nature of public history. For Conard, public history entailed what Michael Frisch has called "shared authority," as well as "the blending of disciplinary knowledge and first-hand experience that practitioners must bring to the process of problem solving." Finding ways to problem solve required a "reflective conversation with the situation." Unsurprisingly, these characteristics of public history matched the sensitivities of Argentina sociologist Elizabeth Jelin in her significant study of

[36] Ludmilla Jordanova, *History in Practice* (London: Arnold, 2000), 141
[37] Denise D. Meringolo's review of the two general trends of thought, *Museums, Monuments, and National Parks: Towards a New Genealogy of Public History*, (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012), xv

State Repression and the Labors of Memory.[38] In the wake of and study about the Southern Cone dictatorships specifically and the political violence throughout Latin America more generally, she insisted "the researcher cannot avoid being involved, incorporating his or subjectivity, experience, beliefs, and emotions, and incorporating as well his or her political and civic commitment." [39] Much like Conard's sense of public history practice, Jelin saw the research team she worked with to develop methodological and theoretical insights about the "labors of memory" as part of a reflective, and thereby personal and political, practice.[40]

Whether recognizing Jordanova's three strains of public history, Conard and Schon's reflective perspective, or Jelin's subjectivity and commitment, public history "is inherently situational" and "the case-by-case particulars of reflective practice, reflection-in-action, shared inquiry, and shared authority emerge out of experimental give-and-take."[41] Uniquely this work demonstrates the historical trail of vernacular and official cultural expressions of the tragic past at a specific place, and how these have translated into official, professional, and popular memory realms. The vast, though largely unordered, amounts of sources—newspaper articles, testimonies, interviews, memoirs, memorial initiatives, commemorations, articles, books, and the like—that have sprung from and because of the stadium camp have contributed to a type of public memory in Chile about the stadium camp. John Bodnar has argued that even such an unordered, unwieldy flow of memory reflects political relations, a dialectic of vernacular and official culture, "grounded in the inherent contradictions of a

[38] *State Repression and the Labors of Memory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), originally published in Spanish as *Los trabajos de la memoria* (Siglo XXI, 2002)
[39] Jelin, xvi
[40] Jelin wrote, "to assert that memory involves 'labor' is to incorporate it into the activity that generates and transforms the social world… The person is the agent of transformations, and in the process transforms him or herself and the world," 5
[41] Katherine T. Corbett and Howard S. Miller, "A Shared Inquiry into Shared Inquiry," *The Public Historian*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Winter 2006), pp. 15-38

social system: local and national structures, ethnic and national cultures, professionals and clients, workers and managers, political leaders and followers, soldiers and commanders." Public memory, Bodnar argued, involves a communicative and cognitive process that speaks to the structure of power in a society "because that power is always in question in a world of polarities and contradictions and because cultural understanding is always grounded in the material structure of society itself."[42] The politics of memory have been as important in Chile as in the United States of Bodnar's study. In one sense, the stadium-as-concentration camp has been slickly interpreted by state stake-holders ranging from the military junta to Chile's Council of National Monuments. In another sense, popular history telling at the stadium has involved grassroots actors such as human rights activists, former stadium prisoners, and witness survivors. Professional expressions have come in the way of work submitted by historians, architects, political scientists, and lawyers. At times, representatives from these groups have worked collaboratively, through conflict, or independently. The inherent power relations between these actors and institutions have brought to bear diverse interpretations and unequal degrees of historical work of the stadium camp at different times. Given the stadium's fifty-eight fateful days in 1973, it has become a sort of public memory box for the people and the state, for Chileans and non-Chileans alike, and for professionals as well as the public, layered with overlapping histories, and infused with personal and collective meaning.

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[42] John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 13-15

Michael Lazzara's discussion on Chilean traumatic memory—its poetics and politics—invoked Pierre Nora's sites of memory "as a way of referring to those material, symbolic, and functional spaces in which societies anchor and relate their memories of the past: books, monuments, archives, anniversaries, depositions, films and festivals."[43] Not surprisingly, the past forty years have seen the memory of the stadium-as-concentration manifest through all these these mediaa. Yet the stadium stands uniquely as a certain type of site of memory. Much more than a book, monument, or archive, the stadium is strategic to Chileans' memories first because of its permanence as place connected to human rights violations and, second and similarly, that the place itself is significant beyond but especially because of the 1973 concentration camp. That it was one of the very first and by far the largest place connected to Pinochet's human rights violations dwarfs other less divisive episodes of the stadium's past. But that the stadium holds social, cultural, and political value beyond this divisive rupture amplifies its significance as a site of memory. Materially, it is a physical link to the past, present, and future. Symbolically, it is national patrimony, painful and otherwise, for all Chileans. Functionally, it serves Chileans as a center for sporting and cultural events. It, in itself, is a framework—or container of experiences—that helps make and unmake collective, competing memory frameworks. Unlike more ephemeral or less tangible sites of memory, the stadium's material, symbolic, and functional characteristics appear permanent and tangible. These characteristics move beyond a monolithic telling of the stadium's past, or monolithic views of a particular stadium event. At the stadium, histories layer and memories overlap. Because of the stadium's permanence, past events and episodes literally 'touch' one another, where time is fluid and place is fixed, and generations of Chileans have come together to share, celebrate, torture, dance, sing, vote, cry, kill, and

[43] Lazzara, 33

remember at the stadium. By holding place constant, the layers of history that overlap at the stadium become more visible, or memorable. Pinochet's concentration camp touches—even as it is masked or displaced by—other emblematic events and everyday uses of the stadium.[44]

The history making at and about the stadium-as-concentration camp has paralleled and contributed to the larger memory question in Chile: how to remember the origins, violence, and legacy of Pinochet. The literature attending to this has been rich. Important works by Lazzara and Macarena Gómez-Barrios, for example, have offered useful frameworks to think about memory after tragedy and trauma. Lazzara identified various languages or *lenses of memory* through which artists and survivor-witnesses articulate Chile's traumatic memories. These include "novels, poems, testimonies, documentaries, and photographs" that look to locate and "probe the limits of understanding traumatic experience," histories written from memory's "most convulsive zones" and outside the realms of officialdom.[45] Gómez-Barrios, on the other hand, rather than lenses of only artists and survivor witnesses, offered a more collective approach. She employed the theoretical tool of *memory symbolic* "to indicate how the national public sphere in [democratic] transition is mediated and constructed by state-led initiatives (truth commissions, reports, commemorative events, memorials) and alternative forms of memory that reconstruct the past (gatherings of witnesses, public funerals, memorials) with presentist interests in mind."[46] This tension and cooperation between state-led initiatives and grassroots alternatives unfolds in and simultaneously creates the "cultural realm." In this arena of "struggle, engagement,

[44] Zachary D. McKiernan, *Making Memory Matter: The National Stadium of Chile and the Politics of Post-Dictatorship Memory*, M.A. Thesis, University of California Santa Barbara, 2008
[45] Lazzara, 12
[46] Macarena Gómez-Barris, *Where Memory Dwells: Culture and State Violence in Chile* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009), 5

and identification," Gómez-Barrios gathered that the past gives meaning to the present and is a vital space for those who suffered Pinochet's violence.[47]

Similar to Bodnar's *public memory*, Lazarra, Jelin, and the Chilean historian Mario Garcés recognized the ongoing memory debates as struggles of official history versus un-official history. Lazarra's *lenses of memory* challenged "the official story" that relied on Salvationist interpretations of the military coup, where "the grave human rights violations perpetuated by the dictatorial state must be understood as a price that had to be paid to save the nation from Marxist terrorists."[48] These interpretations also credited the military government with Chile's economic miracle and the arrival of the modern, technocratic state.[49] Jelin recognized a similar vein earlier, suggesting that "The memories of the oppressed and the marginalized and the memories about oppression and repression" materialized in transitional democracies, "asserting the 'true' version of history based on their memories" and demanded justice because of it. In these moments, when "memory, truth, and justice blend into each other…stories and narratives that were hidden or silenced for a long time emerge in the public eye." Moving between the simplified dichotomy of "remembering against forgetting" or "*la memoria contra el olvido*," Jelin proposed that what is actually at stake after traumatic experiences is a battle of "memory against memory," that competing memory narratives continually vie for supremacy and legitimacy.

Chilean historian Mario Gárces's study—History and Memory of September 11, 1973 in the La Legua Shantytown of Santiago Chile—recognized that Chile's democratic

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[48] Lazzara, 15

[49] See, Pamela Constable and Arturo Venezuela, *Chile Under Pinochet: A Nation of Enemies* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1991), especially Chapter 7, "The Technocrats" and Tomán Moulian, *Chile actual: anatomía de un mito* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 1997). Also, Pinochet apologists regularly refer to the years between 1973 and 1990 as the military government rather than the military dictatorship or regime.

transition was dominated by "general readings and abstract meanings of the past," where the state and especially the means of communication (*medios de comunicacion*) pedaled a discourse that "favored a re-encounter between Chileans." Between 2000 and 2001, Garcés and a team of investigators conducted neighborhood level interviews with the citizens of *La Legua*, a working class neighborhood known for its political militancy and the severe repression it received because of it during the dictatorship.[50] Through interviews with these subjects, Garcés argued that an official idea of a "historic and moral draw (*empate*)" had silenced Chile's popular protagonists, a type of an "invisibilization of popular sectors… of popular sector movements…workers, *pobladores*, peasants, and students" so crucial to the political, social, and cultural development of Chile in the 1960s and 1970s. Like Lazzara and Jelin, Garcés argued that official history publicly squelched popular memory, and when popular memory emerged to challenge authorized history flashpoints were hot and intense.[51]

Unique to the debate in Chile specifically and the Southern Cone nations more generally is memory's connection to the human rights violations committed by the state during the 1970s and 1980s and, by extension, the process of democratic transitioning. Luis Roniger and Mario Sznajder signaled that the "dynamic interaction between past and present" in the post-dictatorship democracies of Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay also "characterize[d] legacies of human rights violations."[52] The remembrance of the violations committed during the dictatorship and "accountability and justice" afterwards led to a

[50] The activist historian Alejandra Lopéz participated in this community history project. In 2003, she became a founding member of the National Stadium Committee, and would continue to play an important role in the developments of the museum National Stadium, National Memory.

[51] Mario Garcés, "Historia y memoria del 11 de septiembre en la población La Legua de Santiago de Chile," undated; see also *El Golpe de la Legua: Los Caminos de la Historia y la Memoria* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2005)

[52] Luis Roniger and Mario Sznajder, *The Legacy of Human Rights Violations in the Southern Cone, Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 7

"distinct impact on these societies' self-understanding, reconstruction of public spheres, and the politics of reconstruction, oblivion, and memory." Under this rubric human rights and memory in the Southern Cone became handmaidens planning for and processing through democratic transitions. The official acts of remembrance, their popular counterparts, and challenges against these flavored a recipe that signaled memory as an ongoing struggle, not the end of a debate. Nora, in fact, recognized the "recovery of memory" in relation to the Latin American dictatorships contributed to a dramatic uptick in "world-wide memorialism" that "involve[d] settling scores with the past."[53]

In Jelin's study on the labors of memory, she expanded the sociologist's Howard Becker's idea of *moral entrepreneurs* to apply to the situation in the Southern Cone. Becker saw moral entrepreneurs as society's humanitarian leaders who mobilize to call the public's attention to an issue, strategize to accomplish policy goals, and use "their energies for the sake of a cause they strongly believe in."[54] In the case of memory in the aftermath of political violence and state terrorism, Jelin coined *memory entrepreneurs* to describe the actors and analyze the projects that attract attention, provoke debate, and conceptualize and develop public issues. Memory entrepreneurs are actors that "seek social recognition and political legitimacy of *one* (their own) interpretation of the narrative past."[55] In the Southern Cone, Jelin signaled, "the human rights movement has been a privileged actor in the political enterprise of memory." Despite the human right actors' ability to organize social support and influence political agendas, they also compete with diverse ideologies and agendas: the political right, academic debates, artistic expressions, and the like. But during the

[53] Pierre Nora, "Reasons for the Current Upsurge in Memory," in *The Collective Memory Reader*, eds. Jeffrey Olick, et al, (Oxford University Press, 2011), 437
[54] Jelin, 33
[55] Ibid., 33

dictatorships in Latin America in the last half of the twentieth century, it was the human rights movements that pressed publicly against authoritarian regimes, courted international support, and, ultimately, proved a major cultural force to reinstate democracy. After the return to democracy, human rights memory entrepreneurs demanded accountability for the recently committed violations, pushed for the prosecution of perpetrators, and "tried to influence and change the meaning and content of the 'official story' of the dictatorial period." As part of these strategies, they also demanded material and economic reparations, developed rituals and commemorations, and "demanded symbolic signs of recognition in memorials, monuments, and museums."[56] While many of the memory entrepreneurs worked within the human rights movement locally, many more public voices came from those in exile, religious leaders, and international human rights organizations.

Chileans collective and traumatic memories of the dictatorship are marked by symbolic anniversaries, physical sites, and human actors and organizations—or what historian Steve Stern has termed "memory knots." Such knots tie together loose, individual memories and emblematic memories and frameworks. The historical memory drama that has developed from the September 11, 1973 military coup has been best covered by Stern's seminal trilogy *The Memory Box of Pinochet*. Stern skillfully and "systematically traces the long process of making and disputing memory by distinct social actors within a deeply divided society, across the periods of dictatorship and democratic transition."[57] By analyzing the history of memory of the Pinochet coup, regime, and aftermath, the historian noted that

[56] Jelin, 34

[57] Steve Stern, *The Memory Box of Pinochet's Chile* Vol. I-III *(*Durham and London: Duke University Press), xix. Stern notes that "although excellent studies have established a reliable chronicle of basic political and economic events (some of the related to collective memory themes) under the rule of Pinochet," his work is unique in that it is the fullest account of the history of memory of the military coup and its aftermath.

memory became a battleground beginning the first day of the military coup, was "crystallized" in the 1980s as a key cultural concept, and culminated into the central question defining transition politics and cultural legitimacy. Stern analogously referred to Chile as "Latin America's example of the 'German Problem'"—how did so highly civilized a society become so barbaric—and posited that the "memory question under the dictatorship and later democracy was central to the remaking of Chilean politics and culture." The memory question—"how to remember the origins, violence, and legacy of Pinochet" also changed strategic position and significance, Stern noted, so that, by 2006, the "shifting politicocultural agenda had reshaped the meaning of the memory question." Reshaped, the cultural impact of remembering the dictatorial years continued to press firmly against Chilean society, with the recent fortieth anniversary of the military coup generating agitation, struggle, and, in the end, the continued presence of the painful past in Chile.[58]

Stern's work gave the first and fullest account of Chile's history of memory since the 1973 military coup. In examining "how Chileans have struggled to define the meaning of a collective trauma,"[59] the historian employed two major conceptual tools, *emblematic memory* and *memory knots*. These to help historicized Chilean memory and argued for an examination of contentious, competing, and selective remembrances that gave life and meaning to human experience.[60] These two tools helped examine the human experiences of the competing, emblematic remembrances that Stern identified as memory as salvation, as

[58] Significant, moreover, that along with the forty year commemorations and counter-commemorations, Chile's presidential election of 2013 saw Michelle Bachelet (herself a former prisoner and exile whose constitutionally faithful father died in the hands of the *golpistas* after the coup) squared off against Evelyn Mattei. Bachelet, Chile's president between 2006 and 2010, ran on the platform to change Chile's 1980 constitution. Mattei, whose military father supported Pinochet, had voted in 1988 to extend Pinochet's power in a plebiscite. In another way, Chile's two top presidential candidates in 2013 represented the historical divide brought on by the dictatorial past.

[59] Stern, Vol. I, xix

[60] Ibid., xxvii

cruel rupture, as persecution and awakening, and as closure. The first, salvation, suggested a heroic memory framework for the military coup in 1973—Pinochet arrived to save the country from a Marxist cancer and a deep moral and economic crisis. The second and third frameworks belong to the dissident and un-official memory camps, "memory as cruel rupture, profoundly brutal and unresolved; and memory as persecution and awakening."[61] The former, Stern argued, remembers that "the military government brought the country to a hell of death and torture, both physical and mental, without historical precedent or moral justification, and the hell continues"[62] for unhealed victims. The latter type of dissident memory acknowledged the tortured times of the military dictatorship but through unity and solidarity endured—and eventually brought an end to Pinochet. Lastly, memory as a closed box suggested that yes, indeed, the military committed "excesses" such as torture and disappearance, but that only a few rogue actors participated. This memory framework also suggested that only a small number of Chileans were affected anyhow, and that the subject matter is best forgotten if Chile wants to move on.[63]

Emblematic memory and memory knots shed light on the human meaning(s) attached to competing remembrances, a conceptual reminder that memory is more than recall and recollection but that it involves values ascribed to the events of the past. Emblematic memory distinguishes the difference between "specific narrated events of memory" and "the organizing framework that imparts meaning. [It] refers not to a single remembrance, not to a concrete or substantive 'thing,' but to a framework that organizes meaning, selectivity, and

[61] Stern, Vol. I, 39

[62] Ibid., 109

[63] For a more detailed account of Stern's four memory frameworks, see Vol. 1, *Remembering Pinochet's Chile: On the Eve of London 1998*, pp. 108-111

countermemory."[64] Emblematic memory allowed Chileans' loose, personal memories expression in a collective environment. Operating in a public or semi-public domain, in turn, memory as salvation, rupture, awakening, and a closed box imparted shared meanings of the past as much as offered fodder for countermemory and competing views.[65] Chileans connected, plugged in, referenced, drew from, and found justification for personalized experiences within a collectivity that either confirmed or contrasted respective memory-truths, emotions, values, and ethical and political positions. The friction felt between and within emblematic memories attested to the intense human activity consciously—and constantly—engaged in memory making, meaning, and struggle. Following, Stern argued that the human struggle over emblematic memories constituted memory knots—sites of humanity, sites in time, and sites of physical matter or geography that break the "normal flow of everyday life…make claims or cause problems that heighten attention and consciousness… [and cause] the social body to scream."[66] These knots, also found in the public domain, influence the making and unmaking of emblematic memories, on the one hand, and showed that "strongly motivated human groups, symbolically powerful events and anniversary or commemoration dates, [and] haunting remains and places" prove crucial to the post-dictatorship politicocultural environment, on the other hand.

It is of little surprise that Stern's conceptual tools are still largely relevant today, less than a decade after the publishing of the trilogy's third volume, *The Memory Question in Democratic Chile, 1989-2006*. Though the four emblematic frameworks continue to change,

[64] Stern, Vol. I, 105

[65] Stern, Vol. I, 106, Stern described these public and semi-public domains where emblematic memory manifested as "mass media reports or spectacles; government ceremonies, speeches, or media events; street demonstrations, commemorations, or protests, church or other nongovernmental institutional networks and bulletins; universities and oppositional forums including semi-clandestine gatherings and underground publications; music, books, television programs, or movies that garner a mass audience."

merge with a younger generation's ideas and memories of the dictatorial past, and expand to include more minority voices in terms of memory and rights, they continue to circulate in and help define Chile's cultural realm in democracy. The eve leading up to the forty-year mark of the military coup offered ample evidence of the staying power of these emblematic memories as much as it confirmed that public memory and the making and unmaking of such frameworks is an ongoing, continuous process, never static, and therefore, as Stern argued, "socially constructed and selective." In the June preceding the fortieth anniversary of Chile's historic rupture, the right-wing Corporación 11 de Septiembre held public homage to Pinochet, already dead since 2006. Under the auspices of airing the documentary *Documental Pinochet*, which offered a salvationist version and heroic vision of the former dictator, the right-wing group took to the iconic Caupolicán Theatre in downtown Santiago, creating a public flashpoint and intense memory knot. Not only was the documentary's content offensive to dissident memory advocates, but the selection of the Caupolicán Teatre was an affront to human rights organizations. The theatre's public image during the dictatorship—and, therefore, memory of it—had been associated with the human rights movement, a public space utilized by the relatives of the disappeared to challenge Pinochet through non-violent civil disobedience. On International Women's Day in 1978, for example, outside of the theatre women relatives of the detained-disappeared danced for the first time in public the symbolic *cueca sola*, a version of Chile's national dance normally done in pairs.[67] The absence of the women's partners explicitly announced the disappearance of their loved ones.

[67] This is the English translation of "Ruta de la Memoria" offered by its author Ministerio de Bienes Nacionales, or Ministry of National Properties and will be covered below.

Four days before the June 10, 2012, homage documentary to Pinochet, human rights activists and allies associated with dissident memory assembled at the Salvador Allende Monument, itself a controversial symbol steps from Chile's presidential palace and continued gathering point for activists.[68] They formed to submit a formal letter of protest to conservative President Sebastian Piñera against the airing of the documentary. The letter was signed by fifteen human rights organizations, sites of memory, and a single politician. In telling language it declared that to hold such a ceremony in public would be a contradiction to democratic principles and ideals, arguing that "to execute homage to a dictator is an act of extreme violence that makes vulnerable the recent history of our nation, still with painful wounds from the crimes committed and for the lack of truth and justice." The group demanded that the president "take a clear position and utilize all legal and administrative tools to stop this activity that harms our memory as much as the human rights world and, ultimately, the democracy that day after day demands us to deepen it." The sixteen signees affirmed a "moral duty with history" to manifest publicly if the homage went forward.[69]

The official response of non-action by the Piñera government green-lighted the Pinochet apologists to screen *Documental Pinochet* at the symbolic site. On the day of the screening, exhausted by the state's reluctance to stop the homage to Pinochet at a public venue, human rights activists and other civil society, religious, student, neighborhood, and grassroots groups offered a response styled after and under a general call of a *funa*—a public

[68] Katherine Hite, "Resurrecting Allende," *NACLA Report on the Americas*, July/August, Vol. 37, Issue 1, 2003
[69] This letter can be accessed on the Human Rights Observers website: http://www.observadoresddhh.org/2012/06/06/carta-abierta-al-presidente-de-la-republica-a-proposito-de-acto-homenaje-al-dictador-a-pinochet/

act meant to out Pinochet conspirators and provoke shame.[70] The public shaming guided by the dissident memory activists—or actors in time experiencing intense feelings and human emotions—attracted numbers estimated in the thousands. Activists from both sides squared off on the sidewalk surrounding the theatre, while Santiago's *carbineros* in full riot gear, some horse-mounted, others in armored tanks, symbolized the state. The latter's presence was interpreted by the dissident memory activists as the protection of, and therefore complicity with, the *pinochetistas*. All sides clashed, with some factions becoming violent.

The screening of the *Documental Pinochet*, the letter to the president to stop it, the official non-action of the state, and the subsequent *funa* exemplified the battle for public history and memory on the eve of the forty-year mark. So too did it confirm the continued utility of Stern's conceptual tools. The culmination of events produced multiple lines of tied-together memory activity best understood as a memory knot, while simultaneously exhibited Stern's continued making and unmaking of collective memory frameworks, underscored by intense feelings and human emotions, meanings, and interpretations. So intense was the encounter that in an activist debriefing of the *funa* and meeting exploring the political situation on the eve of the upcoming emblematic anniversary, Congressional Deputy Tucapel Jimenez, whose father was murdered by state security forces in 1983, warned that members of the political right were galvanizing and provoking public discord and discontent, that "they laugh at human rights."[71]

[70] During the build-up of this popular protest it was generally referred to as *funa*. A *funa*, once aimed to out specific perpetrators, human rights organizations have adopted the language to describe more general protests.

[71] Meeting held at Nido 20 and attended by Deputy Jimenez and representatives from the sites of memory Villa Grimadi, Tres y Cuatro Alamos, Jose Domingo Canas 1367, and Nido 20 and members from CODEPU and Chilean Commission of Human Rights.

The public discomfort and collective remembrances of the dictatorial past continue to be played out in public and particular places. Stern's analysis of the history of memory in Chile singled out the importance of physical places along with human actors and important anniversaries to the nation's memory knots. He argued that

> physical places or matter exert a certain cultural magic in part because they descend directly from the great historical trauma or turn, as in a torture house, a massacre or assassination site, or suddenly discovered cadavers; and in part because the sites become infused with a sense of intimate connection to sacred history via human intervention "after the fact," as in a moving museum, monument, movie, or testimonial book.[72]

For Stern, the "interplay between physical descent and cultural invention" infused specific sites associated with the dictatorship generally and the memory question more specifically a special quality. Once a certain physical places take on symbolic relevance in the ongoing and ever present-day struggles over the interpretation of the past, "it can unleash ferocious ongoing memory struggles."

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The history of the National Stadium's role as a concentration camp is significant because it was the physical and figurative starting point for seventeen years of human rights violations. It was also the largest of the 1,132 sites of detention and torture utilized during a regime that murdered thousands, tortured hundreds of thousands, and forced an estimated one million Chileans into exile. The stadium in 1973 was a microcosm for the lived realities lived realities of the great majority of Chileans. From all parts of the city and country into all parts of the stadium were delivered a prison population that included political activists, union leaders, laborers, students, professors, professionals, politicians, government workers,

[72] Stern, Vol. I, 123

campesinos or peasants, and common criminals. Minors, women, men, and those advanced in age suffered together in Pinochet's largest prison. The stadium was central to the mass round-ups, arrests, and general terror and uncertainty that characterized the immediate aftermath of the military coup. It was complemented by the presence of a military—itself diverse in make-up—serving the class interests of those who opposed the imprisoned. For nineteen year old prisoner Adolfo Cozzi, the stadium locker room where he was imprisoned "represented the truth of our society."[73]

The stadium-as-concentration camp in 1973 is also significant because it extended beyond Chilean borders. It was an international experience. Citizens from over forty different nations were imprisoned there, the majority of these coming from the Latin American nations of Bolivia, Brazil, and Uruguay. Moreover, many of these citizens were leftist militants who had escaped the authoritarian regimes installed in their respective countries. But other world citizens also passed through the stadium's portals: Mexico, Venezuela, England, Italy, and India; New Zealand, France, Japan, Canada, and the United States. The latter saw ten of its citizens detained, one of which would become the subject of Constantin Costa-Gavras's internationally acclaimed film, *Missing* (1981); two more were Mary Knoll priests; and another two—Adam Schecsh and Patricia Garrett—testified to witnessing four-hundred people massacred inside the stadium, a testimony that reached the ears of U.S. Congressional members in 1973 and, since then, has echoed in a number of media and activist accounts inside and outside of Chile. Some of the first and most horrific scenes from Chile were filtered through film and photographic images of the stadium-as-concentration camp, images that "would remain etched in the memories of citizens across the

[73] Adolfo Cozzi Figuero, *Estadio Nacional* (Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana Chilean, 2000), 49

globe."[74] In 1991, Chile's National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation recognized the National Stadium's international reach as compelling criteria for finding it one of the most emblematic sites of human rights violations.

The history of the stadium-as-concentration camp is not only significant because of 1973, its national and international context, and starting point for seventeen years of human rights violations. It is also significant because of its centrality to the memory battles that have ensued since, but especially when the memory question was at the crux of politic-cultural legitimacy during Chile's democratic transition. President Aylwin's *Chile: The Way I Like It* in 1990 offers one prominent example, the momuntal stadus on September 11, 2003, another. The monument designation recognized, protected, and confirmed the stadium—and the stadium-as-concentration camp—as Chilean patrimony. Activists had achieved at writing the concentration camp chapter, as much as themselves, into the official annuls of the country's historical and cultural realm. The National Stadium became national patrimony. This recognition and observation of the fifty-eight painful days specifically and a painfully disputed past more generally were crystallized through a physical site connected to human rights violations. It wasn't new that a particular place had been secured as national patrimony. In fact, colonial churches and buildings as much as places in the natural environment, for example, had previously achieved state patronage. What was new was that this particular place—and the principal justifications for the patrimony petition—was its connection to the memory of human rights violations. Angel Cabeza of UNESCO's International Committee of Immaterial Patrimony (ICOMOS) confirmed that recently "patrimony has expanded and deepened (*profundizado*) in every sense, including not only

[74] Katherine Hite, "Chile's National Stadium: As Monument, as Memorial," Revista, Spring, 2004, 58-61

physical sites but also the intangible aspects that sustain and give social value to them."[75] Cabeza had been the Executive Secretary of Chile's Council of National Monuments when the stadium received its national monument status. The post-dictatorship era witnessed dramatic effects on what constituted official recognition of Chilean patrimony. Not only was new, though still slim, attention being focused towards "popular patrimony" in the form of "urban workers, of peasants (*campesinos*), of fishermen, of miners, of indigenous people, of women, etc." But to a greater extent the continued demands by dissident memory activists from Chile's human rights community in the realm of remembering the dictatorship's victims, and how these demands pressed the state to respond in unprecedented ways. In another way, activists tied together Chile's toxic sites of detention and terror and the memories of human rights victims to propose—if not demand—that both constitute national patrimony. Thus, it wasn't only popular patrimony; it was painful patrimony. Cabeza had learned in Chile and echoed at UNESCO that "patrimony is precisely memory."

The memory of Chile's human rights violations at toxic sites such as the National Stadium didn't only have repercussions for Chilean national patrimony. Instead, it again connected with international currents. The stadium's story and its memorability in the post-Pinochet era reflected Nora's "recovery of memory," while the commemoration and memorialization projects that activated the citizenry around the stadium especially between 1998 and 2003 went beyond settling scores with the past, though it was that, too. In Chile, it was a chance for civil society—as much as the state—to re-build and strengthen a post-

[75] Angel Cabeza, "Sobre el patrimonio cultural y los derechos humanos en Chile," in *Patio 29: Tras la cruz de fierro*, Javiera Bustamante and Stephan Ruderer, (Santiago: Ocho Libros Editores, 2009) 13

dictatorship democracy, "expressing the moral recognition" towards human rights victims.[76] In the Latin American countries trying to come to terms with the brutality of dictatorship, the process to link human rights violations to national patrimony proved difficult. "But it was the presence and desire of the victims and their relatives to no forget the torture sites and deaths that activated the process. Governmental action was still in tribunals and truth and justice commissions," argued Cabeza from his UNESCO position.[77] The National Stadium was one of the first toxic centers recovered as a site of memory and enshrined with a memorial.[78] Its physical connection to human rights violations, its obviousness as a *house of horror*, and who has been and is now authorized to activate its memory as a concentration camp, and how, is a unique case in the "the recovery of memory" in Chile, a post-dictatorship nation which would later be heralded "instructive for other countries" because it had "made exciting progress in reconstructing the memory of gross human rights violations."[79]

This work examines the history of the popular, personal, journalistic, judicial, memorial, and official accounts of the concentration camp. The following chapter, Chapter 2, demonstrates the concentration camp as it was for fifty-eight days in 1973. It introduces

[76] Roberto Fernández and Isabel Piper, "Lugares de memoria: usos, identidades y políticas en Chile de hoy," *Memoria, Historia y Derechos Humanos*, *Cuaderno de trabajo,* Vol 1, Verónica Vives Cofré, ed, (Santiago: Universidad de Chile, 2001), pp. 31-44

[77] Cabeza, 15

[78] These memorials ranged from modest markers to human rights museums. The different types of human rights memorials will be discussed in Chapter 6. Also, the recovery of the Nation Stadium differed greatly from all others because it was administered by Chile Sports and maintained its daily functioning schedule and programs. This fact has also contributed to the difficulty of executing the human rights museum National Stadium, National Memory.

[79] Sebastian Brett, Louis Bickford, Liz Sevcenk, and Marcelo Rios, final report for the international conference "Memorialization and Democracy: State Policy and Civic Action." Santiago de Chile, June 20-22, 2007; By most international standards, Chile's transition to democracy has been recognized as a success. Yet grassroots mobilization around popular justice memory initiatives counters this claim. The many activists I met in 2012 at the sites of memory in Chile and other places echoed the sentiment that "The transition is not complete."

some of the emblematic actors, universal emotions, and shared experiences that circulated at the time, and since. Analytical discussions of these actors, emotions, and experience follow throughout the remaining chapters. Using the primary sources such as newspaper articles, photographs, testimonies, and interviews, the chapter describes a harrowing fifty-eight days bisected by extreme displays of *compañerismo* and hope against barbaric acts of execution and torture. Chapter 3 analyses the diverse work that gave life to the historical narrative and seeds of memory of the stadium camp. Between 1973 and Pinochet's arrest in 1998, competing versions from inside and outside of Chile by former stadium prisoners, journalists, human rights organizations, official reports, and work in the form of movies and commemorations contributed to this slick, professional, and popular arc. Pinochet's arrest in 1998 ushered in new forms of history and memory making at the stadium, and is the subject of Chapter 4. Between 1998 and 2003—when the stadium achieved national monument status on the thirtieth anniversary of the military coup—grassroots actors and the state representatives mobilized around the memory of the concentration camp in new, more formal ways, while the more general politicultural environment in Chile convulsed in the wake of the dictator's arrest. Chapter 5 analyzes the national monument petition and the relationships between popular activists and representatives of the state. Using meeting minutes, internal memos, official and personal correspondence, among other important documentation archived in Chile's Council of National Monuments, this chapter draws attention to the hearts and minds of the grassroots committee charged with the monument petition, its accompanying human rights museum, and the committee's split. Chapter 6 brings to bear the increased attention to the stadium-as-concentration camp in the post 2003 environment. With the explosion of human rights public memorials beginning in that year, academic,

popular, and official attention increased dramatically, while tensions of proprietorship and narrative authority at the stadium contributed to a memory debate that proved ongoing and conflictive. This chapter situates the stadium's human rights museum National Stadium, National Memory in the memorial environment in Chile and the growing interest in historical activism at the nation's *sitios de memoria*.

The history of the stadium-as-concentration camp has been constructed by hundreds of historical hands. This attempt to order and analyze the work of these hands is, in essence, only another pair. But its contribution is significant. It is unique in method and perspective. It is the first work to order and analyze as a corpus previous work related to the stadium camp. Jumping off from public history allowed me to participate actively in recent memorial processes at the stadium. I conducted interviews with former stadium prisoners, members from the original National Stadium Committee, authors and journalists who have conducted stadium-related work, activists and professionals from Chile's other sites of memory, complemented by countless informal conversations at the stadium as a docent, advocate, and researcher for National Stadium, National Memory. More traditional historical methods included archival work, historiographical analysis, and the compilation of the most complete set of evidence to tell the stadium camp story. Through this, I join the growing conversations in a diversity of fields that relate to this work, and from which I have drawn extensively from. Outside of the public history realm, historiographical insights here could contribute in positive ways to memory studies, Latin American studies, and historical-sociology, as well as sub-fields of human rights, transitional justice, and memorialization and commemoration. It is within these coordinates that I hope to contribute.

Chapter II: The First 58 Days

A revolution without arms; its death by dictatorship. The truth of Chilean society. Prisoners and repressors. The torture begins. Strength and solidarity. Calm amidst chaos. The torture continues. Outside the stadium's walls. Starting the seeds of a human rights movement.

The improbable was no longer: the Revolution had begun. The workers were victorious, the dispossessed began to dance. Songs were sung, banners raised, the atmosphere electric. The streets of Santiago became saturated with Chile's triumphant revolutionaries: miners, machinists, farmers, students, slum dwellers. "When Compañero Allende was elected [president], my husband came looking for me," explained communist worker Alma Gallegos, "and we went out together to turn things upside down." Indeed, Chile, much like Gallegos and her husband's night, had been turned upside down. The democratic victory of avowed Marxist Salvador Allende Gossens on the evening of September 4, 1970 signified a crucial turn in Chile's history. "It was like a carnival," Gallegos confirmed, "It was something we had never expected. It was something that those of us who lived at that moment will remember all our lives. It was a joy that couldn't be contained in a person, to see all the *compañeros* embracing each other—whether they were poor or hungry or well dressed… And we shouted right there in the street: Long live the Popular Unity! Long live *Compañero* Allende!"[80]

More than a carnival, though, Allende's dramatic victory signified the start of *la via chilena al socialismo*—the Chilean path to socialism. The magic of this path was that it marked a revolutionary movement where not an ounce of blood had been spilled, nor a single shot fired. It was a revolution without arms—a nod to Chile's long democratic tradition that, in no small part, was shaped by the maturation and strength of and openness for leftist

[80] Alma Gallegos quoted in Peter Winn, *Weavers of Revolution: The Yarur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 53

political parties. In fact, "Allende's triumph represented the culmination of decades of Socialist and Communist participation in Chile's pluralistic political system."[81] All the more radical was that while Chile marched to the democratic drum of revolution, the large majority of revolutionary struggles across America, Africa, and Asia were engulfed in armed struggle. While the Third World burned, Chile was a beacon; a beacon of hope for a more just and equal society; a society that resorted not to arms but to the constitutional power of its people.

Two months after Allende's historic victory—which were not without tense moments—he inaugurated the Chilean path to socialism inside the National Stadium. Addressing the nation while the world watched the first democratically elected Marxist president, he announced to all:

> Chile has just provided an indication of its political development, which is completely unprecedented anywhere in the world, making it possible for an anticapitalist movement to take power by virtue of the free exercise of the rights of all citizens. It takes power to guide the country toward a new, more humane society, one whose final goals are the rationalization of economic activity, the progressive socialization of the means of production and the end of class divisions.[82]

Indeed, Chile was an unprecedented experiment: "a socialism that combined a commitment to Marxism-Leninism with a Western European parliamentary road and the anti-imperialism and nationalism of a Third World revolution."[83] But while the stadium reverberated with unrestrained celebration, while Chile's workers and once-dispossessed danced to the democratic dream of Allende's goals, some stood by nervous, while not a few began to conspire. Allende's victory had been hard fought and although he won a plurality his 36.2% of the vote fell uncomfortably close to runner-up and former president Jorge Allessandri

[81] Winn, 13
[82] Salvador Allende, *Salvador Allende Reader: Chile's Voice of Democracy*, Cockcroft, James D., ed., (Melbourne: Ocean Press, 2000), 56
[83] Winn, 54

Rodriguez's 34.9% and then current president Eduardo Frei's (leftist) candidate, Radomiro Tomic Romero, who received 27.8% of the votes. Because Allende did not win a majority, Chilean law required Congress to declare the winner. Traditionally, as nothing more than a formality, Chilean Congress would ratify the leading vote-getter. But with Allende and his Popular Unity government "spearheaded by Communists, Socialist, Radicals, and disenchanted Christian Democrats,"[84] foreign and domestic looked to sabotage the president-elect's ascension to the head of the Republic. This concentrated attack on president-elect Allende, fully supported United States, prompted talks—and plans—of a coup and culminated in botched kidnapping-turned-assassination of Army Chief of Staff Rene Schneider, a staunch defender of the constitution, on October 23, 1970.[85] Although Congress ratified Allende's victory immediately after the Schneider assassination on October 24, "in an unprecedented move ... Allende's opponents had legislated conditions on his ratification."[86] In short, Allende "had to carry out his promised 'revolution' in the face of not having a majority in Congress; the Supreme Court disallowing many of his reforms; and the military increasingly intervening in state affairs."[87]

Three years into Allende's six year mandate, the reactionary mechanisms to undermine Chile's democratic path succeeded in a violent and bloody coup on September 11, 1973. Despite their diversity, Chile's business class and oligarchic elite, the political right, sectors of the military and police, the United States and its transnational corporations, to

[84] Cockcroft, 11

[85] See, Peter Kornbluh, *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability* (New York and London: The New Press, 2003), 11-29, for U.S. involvement in the Schneider debacle and the Track I and Track II plans to prevent Allende's ascension

[86] Cockcroft, 12

[87] Ibid., 13

name only a few, united under one objective: to end Chile's experiment of democratic socialism. At different times and in different ways, sometimes together and other times independently, those who wished to see Allende's Popular Unity government undermined engaged in a series of conspiracies to de-stabilize it. From funding bus and truckers' strikes to withholding market goods, food stuffs, and capital, de-stabilizing the democratic government worked to create an air of unease amongst an increasing number Chileans. By 1973, the situation was tense, with whispers of an impending civil war growing ever louder. Milk, cheese, and cigarettes were luxuries and warranted a hefty price—if available at all. The economy stagnated and unemployment had increased. "Shock troops" from Right-wing grassroots reactionary groups such as *Patria y Libertad* (Fatherland and Liberty) sprung up to foment street violence, exploded "electrical towers and vandalized factories to heighten the climate of tension and fear.[88] The CIA, too, worked behind the scenes: pumping money into disinformation campaigns and providing the Chilean military with unprecedented amounts of equipment, training, and support.[89] Meanwhile, Allende's Popular Unity government, a coalition stretching from the center to far left began to show its strains and fissures.

In the early morning of September 11th Chile's presidential palace, *La Moneda*, was sieged, then bombed by the Chilean Armed Forces. By the afternoon, *Compañero* Allende lay dead inside and it quickly became clear that the unarmed miners, machinists, farmers, students, and slum dwellers could offer little if any resistance to a professional army and police force. A curfew was set, martial law ushered in. General Augusto Pinochet headed a four-man military junta and launched a dirty war that would come to symbolize the South

[88] Constable and Valenzuela, 26

[89] See John Dinges's *The Condor Years: How Pinochet and His Allies Brought Terrorism to Three Continents* (New York, New Press, 2004); Peter Kornbluh, *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability* (New York: New Press, 2004)

American dictatorships throughout the 1970s and 1980s. His mission: to purge Chile of its Marxist cancer and restore the civilizing values of Christianity. The wholesale round-up of communists, socialists, workers, women, and even children began in Santiago on the day of the coup, and a few days earlier in the provinces. Shantytowns were purged, factories attacked with vigor and force, and many of those who could not escape underground or to exile were detained in detention centers throughout the country.

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At about six o'clock in the evening of September 11, 1973, the National Stadium of Chile opened its gates to allow Chileans and foreigners alike access to the sporting complex—a not uncommon occurrence. However, this time they were not en route to a soccer match. Neither were they poised to listen to a political speech, nor enjoy an open air concert. Instead the visitors to the stadium that night—and the thousands more to follow—became the first victims of the seventeen year dictatorial regime. After toppling the democratically elected government of Allende in a bloody coup, Chile's new military junta converted the country's iconic stadium into a concentration camp. There, for the next fifty-eight days, the stadium's prisoners passed through its portals and in to hell: tension, torture, terror; detention, disappearance, death. Stadium prisoner Adolfo Cozzi, brutally beaten remarked after remembering a sleepless night on a cement floor, "This is the world. The stadium, this locker room full of detained men, represented the truth of our society. Some of were victims; others persecutors. But we were all slaves: some to die, others to kill."[90] If Chile had been turned upside down with Allende's democratic victory, it had been shattered by the unprecedented violence introduced by Pinochet's regime.

[90] Cozzi, *Estadio Nacional*, 49

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The National Stadium's complex consists of approximately sixty-two hectares, replete with soccer fields, tennis courts, an Olympic-size swimming pool, bike track stadium, periphery sporting grounds, and accompanying outbuildings, all dominated by a principal coliseum which can hold more than seventy thousand spectators within its stands. Every inch of this territory was utilized by the military and state security forces in 1973 under the command Army Colonel Jorge Espinoza Ulloa, with the majority of the condemned imprisoned inside the coliseum proper. Beneath the stadium's grandstands are forty-six access gates, twenty-five of which lead to the coliseum's track and field, thirty-eight bathrooms, thirty locker rooms, and eight *escotillas* (large passageways connecting the access gates and grandstands). Between these are the stadium's Presidential Gallery, administrative offices, and handfuls of small rooms and closets that support the functions at and functioning of the stadium. All of these spaces were also utilized in the service of the concentration camp. Beyond the coliseum and general prison population the repressors imprisoned the women in the locker rooms adjacent to the Olympic swimming pool and then tortured savagely in the dependencies of the bike track, or *velódromo*. The concentration camp was secured by the National Stadium's existing perimeter walls and gates, accented with armed guards, army tanks, and heavy machine gunnery.[91] The Chilean Red Cross established a field hospital halfway between the stadium and the *velódromo* on September 19, only a few days before the military allowed the press corps to visit the stadium in a misguided effort to assuage international outcry. A row of existing offices and small rooms built into the northern section of the perimeter fence served as headquarters for the military

[91] Rodrigo Rojas, *Jamás de rodillas, acusación de un prisionero de la Junta Fascista de Chile*, (Moscow: Nóvosti Press, 1974), 11

administrators. Through gates in the north, west, and east perimeter walls entered buses and military convoys that carried prisoners from all parts of Santiago and, indeed, Chile.

From all parts of the city and country into all parts of the National Stadium were delivered a prison population that included political activists, artists, union leaders, laborers, students, professors, professionals, politicians, government workers, *campesinos* or peasants, and common criminals. Minors, women, men, and those advanced in age suffered together in Pinochet's largest prison. Some have suggested that the stadium-as-concentration camp was a microcosm of Chile, complemented by the presence of a military serving the interests of the classes that opposed the imprisoned. Others have claimed the presence of Brazilian, Uruguayan, and American advisors during the interrogation and torture sessions. Certain embassies sent high-level delegates to the stadium to secure the release of their imprisoned nationals. Swedish Ambassador Harold Edelstam saved a group of fifty-four Uruguayans in the stadium from being sent back to the dictatorship they had escaped on the other side of the Andes. Other embassies and consulates, particularly the United States', moved much, much slower. U.S. Methodist priest Joseph Doherty entered the stadium as prisoner on September 19, "kept a detailed journal recording the beatings, torture, and murders taking place around him,"[92] and had to ask a Dutch embassy official to contact the U.S. consulate. It wasn't until Doherty's release on September 26 that he met with and was released to U.S. officials. Meanwhile, human rights defender Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez visited the stadium prisoners and offered hope, calm, and spiritual nourishment. A Polish priest, on the other hand, administered Catholic services on behalf of the military and asked the imprisoned to repent their Marxist crimes.

[92] Kornbluh, 280

The stadium as concentration camp was replete with prisoners and repressors representative of the great majority of the Chilean people, though the exact number of the imprisoned and executed may never be known. According to a much cited International Red Cross report, approximately seven thousand prisoners were at the stadium as of September 22. On that same day, Col. Espinoza responded to a Chilean journalist's question of "How many detained persons are at the stadium?" with "In this moment there are between 3,500 and 4,000."[93] On October 15, an Organization of American States delegation described close to three thousand prisoners. Former prisoner Rolando Carrasco submitted thirty thousand prisoners in his 1977 book, *Prigué* (Prisionero de Guerra).[94] Years later in 1990, Chile's first truth commission, The National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation, cited the 1973 International Red Cross report but did not yield an independent estimate. When former DINA chief Manuel Contreras, who had breakfasted with Pinochet nearly every morning in the early years of the dictatorship, published his version of Chile's history in *La Verdad Histórica,el Ejército Guerrillero* in 2000, he included a list of stadium prisoners numbering close to nine thousand.[95] He declared that all were "prisoners of war." In 2004, the nation's second truth commission, The National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture, cited the first. It added that "thousands of detainees" filled the stadium but also failed to offer an independent estimation. Over the years popular and journalist accounts have reported a range between the Red Cross's estimation of seven thousand to as high as a former prisoner's claim of forty thousand. Though the exact number of Chileans and foreigners imprisoned at the stadium in September, October, and the first week of November 1973 has

[93] *Estadio Nacional*, DVD, directed by Carmen Luz Parot (Santiago: Alerce Producciones, 2001)
[94] Rolando Carrasco, *Prigué*, (Moscow: Nóvosti Press, 1977), 61
[95] Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda, *La Verdad Histórica: el ejército guerrillero* (Santiago: Ediciones Encina, 2000). DINA, National Intelligence Directorate.

been unclear since the concentration camp's operation, it is clear that they were diverse in age, occupation, and social-economic, if not political, standing. And if, as some surmise, that approximately forty-five thousand people were arrested in the first month of the coup alone, we might surmise that the first fifty-eight days of dictatorship saw numbers well beyond the estimates of the Red Cross, the Organization of American States, and Manuel Contreras at the stadium, respectively.

The military structure that controlled the camp, to a certain degree, was also diverse in make-up. That is, although the "Campo de detenidos de Estadio Nacional" was under the jurisdiction of the Army's Second Division, commanded by an army colonel, and policed by army regiments, other armed forces and state security branches operated with relative freedom within its perimeter, each equipped with their own interrogation squads. These newly formed entities were known as *fiscales* and came from Chile's *carabineros* or police, navy, air force, and army. Also among these ranks were civilians associated with the pro-right group *Patria y Libertad* and intelligence personnel from neighboring countries who sought their own nationals and advised in torture techniques. It wasn't uncommon for prisoners to be "welcomed" to the stadium by a baton-swinging, rifle-butting, and boot-stomping brigade of *carabineros* or an army regiment and then later be interrogated by members of Naval Intelligence Service (SIN), Military Intelligence Service (SIM) or civilian or foreign intelligence groups. More diverse still is that outside of the commanding brass and interrogation squads, Col. Espinoza's army regiments standing guard over the prisoners' day-to-day doings came from distinct districts that stretched the length of the country. In the two months that the stadium operated as a concentration camp, conscripted soldiers from cities

throughout Chile—Antofagasta, Arica, Punta Arenas, Los Andes and Chillán—found themselves unfortunately situated in the stadium:

> They were young, barely beyond adolescence that, given their misfortune, did their military service at the time of the overthrow of President Salvador Allende's government. Now, frequently more terrified than the prisoners, they'd be called to guard dangerous, stateless extremists who, according to their superiors, had planned to attack them and their families with the help a powerful foreign army.[96]

Some of these soldiers acted with compassion, others contempt; all seemed confused. Former prisoner and medic Alfredo Jadresic estimated that given the conscripts positions, that the stadium prisoners were "prisoners of prisoners."[97]

The diverse and numerous prisoner population coupled with a constantly changing military make-up acting under a declared "state of siege" was a recipe for the chaotic nature of the National Stadium during its use as a concentration camp, but especially in the initial weeks. The first days had the prisoners locked and confused inside the depths of the stadium, followed by the ability to open the doors and hatches to peer out to the field on the fifth day. On September 23, prisoners were finally allowed to leave the cells and walk the stadium field for thirty minutes. From then on, the military captors allowed prisoners to "take sun" daily in the coliseum's stands.[98] As the military officials tried to classify and sort the ever increasing number of prisoners coming to the stadium, so did prisoners want, but did not receive, immediate attention and release. Held incommunicado for days and weeks without charge, prisoners remained without information about the overthrow of the government, the fortune of their *compañeros*, and, ultimately, the fate of their family members and loved ones.

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[96] Pascal Bonnefoy, *Terrorismo de Estadio Nacional: Prisioneros de guerra en un campo de deporte*, (Santiago: Ediciones ChileAmérica-CESOC, 2005), 19

[97] Parot, *Estadio Nacional*

[98] Esteban Carvajal, "Estadio Nacional, la frustrada visita del Cardenal, entra el encapuchado," in *Chile, el Estadio: los crímenes de la Junta Militar*, Sergio Villegas, (Buenos Aires, Editorial Cartago, 1974), 34

Confusion was compounded by the fact that military administrators lacked a consistent or centralized system to control, classify, and guard the prisoners. Former stadium prisoner Jorge Montealegre remembered that, "There were cases in which the administrators of the camp rejected the 'load' [prisoners], alleging that there were already too many people in the stadium and the prisoners needed to be executed by the [intelligence or security] unit responsible for their capture."[99] Other cases involved the confusion of sorting Chileans, foreigners, political VIPS, and men and women. Moreover, the weeks' long wait after being arrested to an arraignment that never came and interrogation that always did was continually interrupted by arbitrary violence at the hands of the jailers, the threat of being identified by a prisoner-turned-collaborator, and intense hunger, inadequate clothing and bedding, and, if any, rudimentary medical attention. Whether imprisoned for a single day or several weeks, all experienced emotional and psychological torment. The confusion was exacerbated by the fact that the stadium's military administrators—much less the common, conscripted soldiers—had next to no experience in handling the crisis conditions at the stadium.

The mass arrests and daily *allanamientos* of homes, workplaces, and shantytowns brought together an unprecedented type of prison population to the National Stadium—and, therefore, an unconventional use of it and that of a military traditionally known for its constitutional respect and distance from the civic-political arena. Prisoners would arrive under various arrest circumstances, many times having been transferred from other detention sites or existing police stations and jails to the stadium and therefore already badly beaten, bruised, bloodied, and with broken bones; "Some prisoners literally arrived naked to the

[99] Jorge Montealegre, *Frazadas del Estadio Nacional*, (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2003) 44

National Stadium or with clothes shredded from maltreatment."[100] Upon arrival, the condemned would meet a "reception committee,"—two parallel rows of about twenty soldiers or security agents in which the prisoners had to pass through kicks, punches, rifle butts, and insults. Afterwards, they were directed to a space under stadium's main mezzanine on the first floor where they were registered and classified: suspect, dangerous, Marxist agitator, extremist. According to Father Doherty's journal—which he later turned over to State Department officials—"Men were made to run [a] gauntlet [outside his cell] and as they did so they were beaten by soldiers with rifle butts. One man fell down from a blow he received and was shot in the chest by a soldier… he died five minutes later. The soldier who shot the man blew off the end of his rifle and laughed."[101] Under these sadistic conditions, the newly imprisoned waited for hours, hands on the neck or secured behind their backs, victims of arbitrary violence and insults from their captors. Some were summarily plucked from the lines and escorted away to immediate interrogation, or execution. After the prisoners registered, they were assigned to various locker rooms, bathrooms, and *escotillas* inside the stadium. On September 24, the Chilean and foreign women prisoners were separated from the stadium's general population and held captive in the locker rooms that served the stadium's Olympic swimming pool. Inside the coliseum, there was a VIP section for high level officials from the Allende government which also included well-known political and labor leaders, journalists and professionals, and prominent Allende sympathizers. Another section was designated for foreigners. And others still for the large groups of men who had been arrested together in La Legua, Santiago Technical University, and the factories in the city's industrial belt, respectively.

[100] Montealegre, 82
[101] Doherty quoted in Kornbluh, 564

Inside the stadium, "The detained received abuse from the first moment they entered," declared the Valech Report. In all imaginable and unimaginable forms did prisoners suffer at the hands of their captors. Apart from the arbitrary violence and insults received around the clock and throughout the stadium, the interrogation sessions at the hands of the *fiscales* proved the most heinous and destructive. Inside the stadium proper, interrogation teams operated in the press boxes and the Presidential Tribunal. Outside of the coliseum, the interrogation teams utilized the *velódromo* and its dependencies, especially the *caracoles* or circular-shaped dressing rooms adjacent to the bike track. Much more than the press boxes and the Presidential Tribunal, however, the *velódromo* received the greatest number of prisoners to be interrogated and tortured in the most inhuman ways. One male prisoner testified that

> When I was in the National Stadium I was taken in the morning, alongside other comrades, towards the *velódromo*. I had to have a blanket covering my head while they call me to interrogate me. When they interrogated me they undressed me and applied [electric] current to my temples, testicles, and anus. And they put something in mouth so I wouldn't bite my tongue when they applied the current. I remember being seated in a chair with my feet and hands tied to it. After they hand-cuffed me, they applied the current again.[102]

In a sinister way the military administrators and *fiscales* would call prisoners to interrogation through the stadium's speaker system. When called, they would report to the *disco negro*, or black disk, located next to the soccer field and then marched to the *velódromo*. Some would never return to the stadium. Others would return only after a brief visit to the make-shift hospital and had to be carried back to the stadium's make-shift cells by comrades. Being called to the black disc and the subsequent trip to the *velódromo* was a daily torment and became an aguish for all. So ferocious and continuous was the torture there that the military

[102] Unnamed testimony in the The National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture (2004), 267

blasted music by the Beatles and Rolling Stones to cover the tortured screams from the neighborhood adjacent to and across the street from the *velódromo*.[103] Added to this anxiety, former prisoners also testified of the dreaded *encapuchado*, or hooded-one, who would circulate through the stadium's bleachers and locker rooms and point out prisoners he recognized as political militants.

The justification to detain and obtain information through torture was the new junta's charge of a so-called Plan Z. Plan Z was a fabrication and official lie that was the centerpiece to the mass arrests and round-ups immediately after the coup. The military claimed that Plan Z was a strategy hatched by armed Chilean Marxists to infiltrate the armed forces and overthrow the government, supported by an auxiliary force of ten thousand Soviet trained, Cuban insurgents.[104] Testimonies from prisoners who survived interrogation sessions at the stadium and other sites of detention and reclusion have described the repetitive question(ing) of "Where are the arms?" and "How many are there?" and "What types?"—where interrogators exhibited little regard to the specific character, history, or background of the prisoner. The intelligence gathering at the stadium wasn't so much about gathering information as it was an instrument to instill fear and institutionalize terror among the general population. From prisoners suspended by their arms while being torched under their chins with lighters and cigarettes to electric current applied to prisoners' genitals to simulated executions and indescribable humiliation to "abuse and violence against women ... sexual abuse, a lot of playing up and degrading the body, its integrity,"[105] the rudimentary torture techniques at the stadium foreshadowed the persecution to come and the official

[103] Cozzi, 60
[104] Secretary General of the Gvernment, *Libro blanco del cambio de gobierno en Chile*, 11 de septiembre 1973, (Santiago: Lord Cochrane, 1973)
[105] Nuria Nuñez quoted in *Estadio Nacional* (Parot)

silencing of dissident memory, and spread beyond the stadium itself. Lifeless bodies of the prisoners executed at the stadium were dumped throughout the streets of Santiago as part of a strategy to incite fear and reinforce the justification for the military intervention. "They used strategies to terrorize the population," remembered former stadium prisoner Ximena Nacimiento, "when Helena came out she would tell what they did to her. Nuria would do the same. I'll do the same. So the information multiplies like an echo, getting people submitted by terror."[106] Conversely, however, many prisoners released from the stadium were reluctant to speak—then and many years later—fearing reprisal against them and their families. When fortunate prisoners finally left the stadium, passing through throngs of families awaiting any bit of information concerning loved ones who were or were not inside, they would say, "No, please, don't ask me anything."[107]

As the military *fiscales* dominated and terrorized through torture and the stadium's administrative brass pushed a public relations picture of order and due process, the prison population endured a terrible torture that would take nearly thirty years to begin to understand the depth and severity of 1973. But it also established a day-to-day regiment built on solidarity and organization. Amidst the confusion and torture, the prisoners had to eat, sleep, and meet the basic needs of breathing beings. This solidarity confirmed a general commitment to continue the revolutionary struggle (in whatever form possible) while imprisoned but especially upon release for the most politicized prisoners, and a desire of dignity and protection for the least. Political and social antagonists and rivals quickly made pacts inside the stadium. In one instance, the military brass cast Samuel Riquelme, sub-director of Chile's FBI equivalent PDI, into the locker room earmarked for Chile's

[106] Ibid.
[107] Ximena Nacimiento in *Estadio Nacional* (Parot)

recognized drug leaders and common criminals, a guppy among sharks. Contrary to the administrators' intentions, Riquelme was met with great reverence and shared in the special treatment the military reserved for the kingpins. In other locker rooms and *escotillas* prisoners would elect a leader or boss, many times the eldest, whose duty was to be the eyes, ears, and voice of the unit. A cell leader would speak with sympathetic soldiers, intend to procure more food and blanket rations from the Red Cross nurses, and nominate comrades for duties such as cleaning or washing clothes. When a comrade returned from a torture session he or she would be supplied with added blankets for comfort and a make-shift mattress, food for strength, or cigarettes if available. While occupying the shared space of the coliseum's stands, Rodrigo Rojas explained how prisoners from different locker rooms would collude, collaborate, and share information and ideas under the guise of a game of cards or dominoes, which had been constructed out of discarded popsicle sticks and broken pieces of wood from the bleachers. "I think that dominoes or cards never had such revolutionary significance as [they did] in the stands of the National Stadium," Rojas wrote a year after his detention.[108] In another instance, Rolando Carrasco remembered a group of eighty Madeco metalworkers arriving at *Escotilla 7* "as badly treated as the rest" but with bags of bread to share, distribute, and trade for blankets. "However riddled with scars and anxious to eat," Carrasco wrote, "they didn't lose their capacity to organize or to push to resolve problems."[109] Other examples to maintain moral could be had when cell leaders and elders helped to contextualize the imprisonment experience. While the military played cadence through the stadium's speakers to instill psychological torment, prisoners conspired in whispers and secrecy. Carlos Naudon continued his well-known TV commentary to

[108] Rojas, 12
[109] Carrasco, 67-68

prisoners by discussing international politics ranging from the Cold War to Watergate and professor Mario Cespedes offered general history lessons on Chile; "There was never a lack of somebody who knew of the themes related to psychology."[110]

The revolutionary and solidarity characteristics of the stadium prisoners were also strong among the large foreign element. Though citizens from over forty different nations experienced the stadium as a concentration camp, the majority of them originated in Latin America, having come to Chile in the 1960s because of its democratic openness, in 1970 to participate in Allende's socialist experiment, and to escape the repressive regimes in their home countries during both decades.[111] Others though came from the socialist democracies of Europe and universities throughout the Americas. When the coup came, the military junta's nationalist rhetoric and fictitious Plan Z zeroed in on these foreigners. Xenophobia set in. Citizens denounced foreigners while some foreigners willingly reported to police precincts at the junta's request. Those who did not find immediate escape or asylum in the safety of embassies were rounded up en masse with Chileans. Bolivians (147), Uruguayans (89), and Brazilians (88) represented the countries with the highest prisoner population at the stadium, followed by Argentina (63), Peru (26), Nicaragua (25), and Venezuela (23). For many of these foreigners the stadium was not their first prison experience. Already tested by torturers and repressive regimes in their home nations, Latin Americans were quick to organize while imprisoned in Chile. Similar political experiences and a pronounced dread of being extradited to dictatorial regimes, prosecution, and probably death, citizens from these nations formed a "solidarity front" and pooled money, resources, and information.[112] They

[110] Montealegre, 62
[111] Bonnefoy, 109
[112] Bonnefoy, 115

also collaborated with and trusted their Chilean counterparts, offering advice on how to endure torture, break boredom, animate moral, and conceal identity and political affiliation.

An emblematic example of the multi-national solidarity under the extreme stadium conditions happened when a group of Chileans and Bolivians was imprisoned in Locker Room 3. "They organized all types of activities to maintain mental sanity; they survived on the base of their mutual solidarity," they sang songs, told jokes, and "conversed about family, work, politics, and how they viewed the situation." The Bolivians' distinct type of Andean music also "uplifted the spirit of the prisoners."[113] But on the night of October 9 the group of *andinos* received notice that the next day they'd be leaving the stadium, though they did not know where. Bolivian poet and politician Luciano Durán Beger wanted to pen a farewell poem but was without paper. Chilean Santiago Cabieres Korn offered his handkerchief to Durán who wrote:

> Adiós
> Ya nos vamos.
> ¿Volveremos al punto de partida de un 11 de septiembre? ¡NO!
> Ya nos vamos
> Hermanos chilenos
> Que nadie siembre alegrías
> Sobre la sangre caliente
> De la calles de Santiago
>
> Ya nos vamos
> De aquí
> De este encerrón colectivo
> Dentro de nuestro corazón boliviano
> Dos manos
> Se dan la mano
>
> Y del hombre hecho dolor abrió una zanja profunda.

[113] *El Pañuelo del Estadio Nacional*, DVD, directed by Gabriel Flores, 2005

En nuestro pecho hermanos
Se dan un abrazo de adiós
Chilenos y Bolivianos

The entirety of the incarcerated men in Locker Room 3 signed the handkerchief. These types of actions of humanity, however, were not exclusive exchanges between prisoners. During the fifty-eight days, collaboration also evolved between prisoners and the young conscripts and lower-ranked soldiers who watched over them. At each locker room and *escotilla* normally two conscripts would be posted. Conscripts were charged with escorting prisoners between different places within the stadium, whether from a locker room to the *disco negro* or from the bleachers to the bathrooms. The soldiers many times appeared more confused than the prisoners, as they traded questions and small bits of information. The out-of-town conscripts consulted the prisoners about Santiago's local environment, where to lunch off duty, places to visit and avoid. In a few instances, prisoners offered soldiers their home addresses, promising lunch and companionship with family members. The conscripts would, in turn, return to the stadium with food-stuffs, clothes, and news for the prisoners. For prisoner Rodrigo Acevedo, who entered the stadium in late September and went four days without food, a soldier happened upon him with the question of what he was doing. Acevedo replied, "I am dying of hunger." The soldier subsequently scurried off and returned a short time later with a small piece of steak pressed between two halves of bred.

These acts proved the exception rather than the rule. What was the rule according to prisoner Sergio Muñoz was that "they [the military] were quickly achieving an objective which was to degrade us, to transform us into animals," making prisoners anxious with terror, sleep on the floor, suffer constant curses and spitting, and eat next to nothing. For

Cozzi, entering the stadium's horror was "like not even being human." Then Chilean Senator Ernesto Araneda Briones from the Communist Party remembered

> At the entrance of the National Stadium they [the military] conducted operations, fired in every direction and we had to throw ourselves on the floor. They simulated attacks. Everything that they did was to degrade us and to make us feel as if we were nothing… They hoped we would lose our condition of human beings, to think, to be in control of ourselves. All of this was part of a terrorism that they were imparting.[114]

The physical and psychological torment increased as selected prisoners were summoned to the *disco negro*, submitted to state agents, and taken to other dependencies in Santiago to be interrogated and tortured—only to be returned to the stadium for imprisonment. Another cruel ruse by stadium officials was to release prisoners only moments before the *toque de queda*—the sun-down to sun-up curfew imposed throughout the country—ensuring an almost immediate arrest by roaming military patrols. Along with this trickery, the military also used illusion to add to the humiliation and degradation while promoting a public image of fairness, if not friendliness. Col. Espinoza hand-selected the prominent journalist Alberto Gamboa—who had suffered seven separate torture sessions—to acknowledge before Channel 13 and *El Mercurio* reporters that, in fact, the imprisoned were well-treated. The military staged a parody of a popular Chilean TV show—*Sábado Gigante*—acted out by a handful of the imprisoned, followed by a "conditional liberty" release of prisoners read from a list by Col. Espinoza. He claimed, "in the name of the Government Junta" that prisoners had "safe-conduct" to return to their normal lives and places of work and, absurdly, that the junta "will pay for their wages and salary for the days they were in the stadium."[115] National news footage aped these messages, displaying video and images of prisoners singing in seemingly

[114] Ernesto Araneda Briones, "Mi Vida es el partido comunista," in *Cien voces rompen el silencio: testimonios de ex presas y presos políticos de la dictatura militar en Chile (1973-1990)*, eds. Wally Kunstmann Torres and Victoria Torres Avila, 2008, pp. 65-81

[115] *El Mercurio*, "Liberados 327 Detenidos del Estadio Nacional," October 13, 1973

good-spirit. Pro-coup reporter Claudio Sánchez asked rhetorically on national television, "Are the prisoners treated badly at the National Stadium? Are they distressed? No. Because they have time to form and improvise orchestras."[116] The contradictory accounts of torture against fairness, of torment against good-treatment, of inhumanity against humanity, echoed loudly in the collective divide of a once democratic country fast becoming a "nation of enemies."

Much to the contrary of Col. Espinoza's claims and Sánchez's assertions, the collective experience of Pinochet's stadium victims was marked by hunger, anxiety, terror, and fear. But it was also steered by a conviction of *companerismo*, solidarity, the need and desire to organize. The day to day life of the general population was also accented by Christian humanism and a faith in Christ, affirming the conviction of many non-believers in the stadium that "Christianity is the prophecy of equality; and socialism is the historic opportunity to achieve it."[117] For many the visit by Santiago's Archbishop, Cardinal Raul Silva Henriquez, on September 23 was a moment of salvation and calm. After visiting the condemned and offering benedictions inside some of the locker rooms and *escotillas,* he spoke from in front of the Presidential Tribunal, "I represent a church that serves everybody, especially those who suffer," the imprisoned feeling for the first time the firm support of the Catholic Church in Chile against Pinochet. For prisoner Muñoz, it was the "most emotional moment."[118] Just a short time later on October 6, Cardinal Silva founded COPACHI—The Pro Peace Committee—the predecessor organism to the Vicariate of Solidarity. On a lesser but equally powerful scale, imprisoned priests at the stadium also helped maintain moral and

[116] Footage in Parot's *Estadio Nacional*
[117] Montealegre, 93
[118] Sergio Muñoz in *Estadio Nacional* (Parot)

peace. Father Enrique Moreno—arrested alongside *pobladores* in the shantytown La Granja—administered a mass at the request of a group of prisoners. Prisoner Gamboa described it as a celebration of "profound beauty… calling us to unite." The priest broke rationed bread into portions the size of "crumbs for pigeons" for communion. Father Moreno remembered that the mass ended with "hugs of peace, salutations of peace, and everybody offered peace to two conscripts… both of the boys were crying."[119]

In many ways the chaos mixed with calm inside the stadium mirrored the situation beyond its walls. Women and family members searched for husbands and loved ones—fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, aunts, uncles, cousins, classmates, co-workers. They moved between the city's hospitals, police precincts, and morgues, amidst a sea a fevered fascism. They communicated and organized without telephones. They left their children with neighbors, or carried them along. They went without the household salary as the bread-winners remained imprisoned. There was little to buy, much less eat. But each day they would battle the *toque de queda*, inconsistent transportation, military checkpoints and searches, and, always, the threat of themselves being arrested. To make matters worse, they contended with the death of their hopes and dreams. "The coup came," explained Veronica Baez, "and all the family expectations were cut short, the friendships, to be something different in life, to continue studying."[120] But multiple visits to multiple places of detention and death throughout Santiago established a regime of discipline and solidarity. They could not travel in groups of more than two; they always followed the same routes; they acted as messengers; they demanded answers.

[119] Father Enrique Moreno in *Estadio Nacional* (Parot)
[120] Veronica Báez Pollier in Kuntmann and Torres; Báez wrote this testimonial account in 2005. It was published in 2008.

They would ultimately meet at the largest de facto prison in the city, the National Stadium. "We began our daily pilgrimage to solicit information and try to be as close as we could to them," explained the Rebecca Bizi Alvear, who had a husband and son in the stadium, "This period was so anguished and painful that I remember it as a nightmare, like a type of haze in which moved me a mechanical way."[121] Next to Bizi, women gathered hour after hour, day after day, week after week, suffered insults from the stadium's perimeter guard, waited for yet rarely received incomplete prisoner lists promised to them by stadium administrators and the Ministry of the Interior. They brought clothes, food, and letters for the prisoners, unsure if they'd ever reach the desired recipient, though sympathetic soldiers and Red Cross nurses sometimes delivered on their promises. Despite these obstacles, these mostly women relatives "enlarged their tireless, besieged mass, appeared at the National Stadium, so many and so active, that the combat forces selected for their efficiency and discipline to guard thirty thousand prisoners of war [at the stadium], lost the initiative and terrain after unsuccessful attacks to disperse them."[122] They gathered battered and brave at the stadium, from where they organized the first meetings and ultimately launched Chile's famed human rights movement. From inside the stadium, Cardinal Silva had sprouted Chile's well-known faith-based human rights organizations. But outside its gates it was the women who established the seeds for the powerful lay groups: The Association of the Detained-Disappeared (AFDD), The Association of the Politically-Executed (AFEP), Women of Democratic Action. Many more hundreds of women came and remained anonymous. And not too few came from the ranks of Pinochet's prisoners. Veronica Báez entered the stadium as a prisoner on September 21 and quickly organized with the women

[121] Kuntsmann and Torres, 105
[122] Carrasco, 61

incarcerated in the locker rooms located to the north and south of the Olympic swimming pool. She remembered

> Many women were taken to interrogations at night. They'd take them at about two in the morning and return them close to seven. We would receive them with much affection because, apart from the physical marks of torture, they returned emotionally wrecked and with a lot of fear…we learned that we must all be united, we were all in the same condition; independent of the professional titles or that of social class, we were all equal.[123]

The women would share equally the resources that reached them, just as much as they shared fear. "We didn't know where they'd take us; for this reason we agreed that if we got out that we'd return the next day… and wave a white handkerchief at the gate…because it was the only way in which to know if one was alive and free," Báez noted. She completed this commitment when she won her freedom, much to the confusion and worry of her family members.

It was the *velódromo* where most men and women prisoners were taken when escorted out of their respective cells. There they endured the most intense interrogations. There the *fiscales* unleashed ferocious torture, aided by civilian physicians and foreign intelligence officers. Prisoners would be marched from the coliseum proper or the locker rooms surrounding the swimming pool to the bike track located at the south east corner of the stadium's 62 hectares. The *velódromo* itself was a small-sized coliseum, fitted for professional and amateur bike races. Next to the bike track were two *caracoles*—or snails—round locker rooms made of stone. Rodrigo Rojas would later write that "The stone walls of the *veledrómo* reminded us… of Buchenwald, the sinister extermination camp of Hitler's fascism."[124] Between the *velódromo* and the *carocoles*, interrogation teams set up tables in

[123] Báez in Kuntsmann and Torres
[124] Rojas, 16

the tunnels that ran between them. There they made prisoners stand at attention, covered with blankets and blindfolds, for seemingly endless hours. They simulated executions. They burned with cigarettes. They kicked prisoners' testicles. They interrogated and laughed. Prisoners were sent to the bike track stands, in earshot of the interrogations, or back to the coliseum only to be called to interrogation the following day. "They identified us by groups, then they called us one by one. We had to come down from the stands and this was like dying of fear… I believe that there wasn't a single person who wasn't afraid, because to have fear it to confront the unknown," prisoner Araneda wrote of his experience in the *velódromo*. Inside the *caracoles* the terror continued. One after another, hour after hour, prisoners

> were subjected to successive interrogations for long periods in which they inflicted torture. They were deprecated, they were beaten and kicked, with a rubber or iron instrument, in some cases producing fractures; electric current was applied; their hands were tied behind their backs or strapped to a chair; they plunged their heads into tanks of water; they endured rape and sexual hazing, both men and women.[125]

Prisoners lost consciousness, were revived, and tortured again. Others died, their bodies ushered out of the stadium under the cover of night. PDI sub-director Riquelme was sent back to the principal coliseum, ravaged, and made to walk—though he barely could—a lap around the stadium's track. In front of thousands of prisoners, he stumbled, hobbled, while an arrogant soldier pushed him along at the end of a machine gun.

For fifty-eight days prisoners inside the stadium and their friends and family members outside of it suffered at the hands soldiers, officers, *fiscales*, and civilians loyal to the new regime. But they also organized and unified. According to Manuel Cabiese,

> In the National Stadium the first organization of prisoners emerged, which later reached an astonishing level in the [other] prisoners' camps. The Locker Room of the Stadium was the first school for many of us. It was the most difficult, because it was

[125] Valech Report, 525

> the first and because resources were minimal. There, too, unity was born. The distinct political colors made a single banner… we organized "cultural events." They worked to raise moral and ease tensions. First we exhausted all the jokes we could remember to reduce the shock, then the riddles, later the poetry, and, finally, all types of anecdotes.[126]

Outside the stadium family members created the first solidarity networks of resistance and denunciation—soon culminating into a national human rights movement which; in turn, ushered in a new chapter of an "international human rights regime." On November 4, 1973, family members outside were finally allowed inside stadium. In an emotional encounter, they bid farewell to remaining prisoners who would be transferred to other camps in the provinces as the new junta readied to close the Campo de Detenidos de Estadio Nacional. International outcry condemned Pinochet's concentration camp, while a friendly FIFA—soccer's international governing body—had declared the stadium specifically and Santiago more generally appropriate to host the World Cup qualifying match between Chile and the USSR, scheduled for November 21. "A sea of relatives, mostly women, entered the stadium field… loaded with suitcases, food, clothes, bags, children, and a lot of anguish and love, they covered the [running] track without knowing what conditions they'd find [loved ones], nor when they'd see them again," to see the prisoners off to Chacabuco, Ritoque, Punchacavi, and Chilean prisons. Five days later, the new junta closed the concentration camp—and the saddest chapter in the stadium's history.

[126] Manuel Cabiese, "La vuelta al mundo en un camarín," Punto Final, Nr. 402, September, 1997

Chapter III: The Stadium-as-Concentration Camp, 1973-1998

World Cup controversy. Official versions at home. Testimony and denunciation in exile. Journalists, lawyers, and a film-maker. Political openings in the 1980s. Bracing for democracy. Democracy's consensus and silence. Popular candles and commemorations. Pinochet's arrest and emblematic anniversaries change the game.

On October 4, 1973, Pinochet's newly installed military junta ceremoniously received Chile's national soccer team—*la roja*—at the Ministry of Defense. The celebrated national side had recently secured a tough 0-0 decision against the USSR in the first of a two game qualifying series to gain entry into the 1974 World Cup Finals. The opposing squads had squared off in Moscow on September 26 and were readying themselves for the November 21 rematch scheduled at the National Stadium. The problem for the junta "was not only the evacuation of the Stadium [of its prisoners], but also to distract the attention of Chileans and at once erase the prints of repression at the sports site, returning it to its habitual activities."[127] With the social and political order turned upside down since the coup, and the installation of a concentration at the iconic stadium, the junta welcomed Chile's quest for entry into the World Cup as a cultural diversion, and it planned to maximize its local potential against the rising tide of international condemnation.

The October 4th encounter between the military junta and Chile's soccer elite received front page coverage from the country's leading newspaper, *El Mercurio*, one of only two dailies permitted to operate under the new regime. "The National Team with the Military Junta" declared the headline, as Pinochet mugged with the nation's most popular sports figures in a top-fold photograph. The pro-regime paper quoted Pinochet, "It is very pleasing for the Government to signal that despite all the inconveniences that could've happened in a country… the players have not went off course and, much to the contrary, have given it their

[127] Bonnefoy, 274

all."[128] The paper reported that the meeting was "cordial and pleasant," while Pinochet told the players that "the draw in Moscow was a triumph." Meanwhile, team captain Francisco Valdés had to call in a favor to secure the freedom for retired team player Hugo Lepe at the stadium while the mother of star player Carlos Caczely remained detained and tortured there. With fresh memories of Chile's mythic 1962 World Cup team—when it hosted the world's most popular sporting at the National Stadium and placed third—the Chile-USSR battle scheduled for November 21, 1973 at a concentration became very important business.

On October 23rd a delegation headed by FIFA Secretary General Helmut Franz of Germany and Abilio D'Almeida of Brazil arrived in Chile to check the status of the stadium specifically and conditions under the new regime more generally. Three weeks previous, Chilean FIFA official Juan Goni—with a letter from the junta's Minister of Defense, Patricio Carvajal—traveled to the soccer's international governing body's headquarters in Germany. Goni's visit with Carvajal's letter was to convince FIFA that Chile was more than prepared to host the Soviets, that conditions in the country were normal and the stadium secure. Goni invited FIFA officials to Santiago to confirm Carvajal's assurances. When they did arrive later in October, Goni declared at a press conference two days before the delegation inspected the stadium, "If there are now detainees [at the stadium], it is for their own good, because we consider that they shouldn't be mixed with common criminals in the jails. FIFA has been informed about all of this." Goni's Brazilian counterpart, D'Almeida, aped in a similar vein, "In Europe there are media campaigns organized against countries like Chile.

[128] *El Mercurio*, "The selección nacional con la junta militar," October 4, 1973

My country has also suffered from them. The same press that is currently attacking Chile attacked Brazil before and it will continue attacking." [129]

Two days after the press conference, on October 25, with a media team from *El Mercurio* in tow, the FIFA delegation and regime officials traveled to the National Stadium for an inspection. They arrived to a stadium that had been scrubbed clean, the soccer field's grass remarkably flawless from daily watering and mowing. The majority of the prisoners were kept out of sight, locked below the stadium's stands. The minimal few remaining in the stands didn't elicit attention or inquiry during the field visit.[130] "The FIFA representatives were cordial and affectionate," declared *El Mercurio*, "During their visit to the National Stadium they showed their satisfaction to prove that the reports circulating in Europe [about Chile] were false." FIFA's farcical inspection of the stadium prompted its official report that required the Soviet team to play in Santiago,

> The stadium is actually in use as a center of verification ("Clearing Station") and the people there are not prisoners but detained whose identity must be established (a large number are foreigners who do not have valid documents) and verified [about] the participation that they had before and after the September events… In the interior of the stadium, beyond the exterior walls, everything appears normal and the gardeners are working the grounds… Mr. D'Almeida and I [Kaeser] have arrived at the conclusion that, based on what we saw and heard in Santiago, that life has returned to normal and the guarantees given by the military are such that the World Cup qualifying game between Chile and the USSR can be played on November 21, 1973.[131]

Meanwhile, the slanted Santiago daily kept Chileans abreast of Moscow's action in regards to FIFA's findings. When the Soviets decided to boycott the match soon after the published report, *El Mercurio* declared, "The Soviets refuse to play in Santiago" because of "a hateful political campaign." By November 6, it reported that "Soviet soccer succumbs to its own

[129] Press conference quotes by D'Ameida and Goni in Bonnefoy, 276
[130] Bonnefoy, 277
[131] El Mercurio, "FIFA Informó al Mundo," November 4, 1973, 38

shame" to "not confront with dignity its international commitment to soccer." Finally, on November 21, after months of speculation, questionable national reporting, and an international blessing from FIFA, Chile's celebrated soccer team took the field against a team of ghosts at the National Stadium. After a few unenthusiastic passes, team captain Valdés slid home what *El Mercurio* labeled the "Goal of Honor" and gained entry into the 1974 World Cup.

The military junta and friendly media expunged the stadium-as-concentration camp from official discourse and public debate by way of Chile's empty November 21 victory. Though the stadium was central to unfolding events in Chile, especially the mass arrests and detentions immediately after the coup, the official story pushed an environment of law and order. *El Mercurio* and *National Television* (TVN) filtered the voices of the new military administrator such as Minister of the Interior Oscar Bonilla and the Commander of the Camp of Detainees of the National Stadium, Col. Espinoza. "In a few days," *El Mercurio* quoted Bonilla on September 17, "we will be able to offer a list of the detained, and also install an information service that allows relatives to stay informed about the state of their families" and that "the situation in the stadium was absolutely normal and that there hasn't been a single problem for the prisoners."[132] In order to evince a stadium atmosphere that was firm but necessary, the Minister suggested that the detained would secure freedom through due process of law. Along with favorable reports in print, TVN offered information that the stadium prisoners were content and able to take part in parody shows and play games such as dominoes and cards.[133]

[132] Oscar Bonilla in *El Mercuio*, September 24, 1973, quoted in Bonnefoy, 33
[133] See *Estadio Nacional* (Parot) for TVN footage.

With international gestures from FIFA and a clampdown on critical national media, the concentration camp in the local environment was expunged from official discourse and public debate. It became a non-event in Chile—something that suffered doubly from Chileans' inability to conceive of a concentration camp at the iconic stadium and the military junta's concerted effort to conceal it.[134] However, the effective silencing of the stadium-as-concentration camp in Chile couldn't be contained by its geographical borders. As Pinochet tightened the official story of the stadium around the idea of a non-event, international media outlets began to carry the slim information they had gleaned about the stadium. In a misguided public relations move to assuage international concerns, military administrators opened the Camp of Detainees of the National Stadium to foreign correspondents on September 24th—the same day they allowed the International Red Cross to install a "field hospital" on the stadium's grounds. While Chile's *El Mercurio* and TVN focused on Col. Espinoza's spectacle of the prisoners' ample daily diet, exercise regime, and ability to "pass the day taking sun," correspondents from countries such as France, England, and the United States bucked protocol and tried to train cameras and questions on the detained. Short, impromptu questions erupted, as sympathetic journalists lavished cigarettes on the prisoners. Former prisoner Esteban Carvajal related shortly after his release,

> There were six or seven thousand people and if after the television news or in the photographs only a few people were seen it is because they focused on the gaps. The journalists did a lap around the track and asked: How are you? We told them that we were fine, that the procedures were slow, but above all to worry about the people in the locker rooms. That was another thing. Nobody had direct contact with the press corps.[135]

[134] See Trouillot's "An Unthinkable History: The Haitian Revolution as a Non-Event," *Silencing the Past*, Chapter 3

[135] Testimony of Esteban Carvajal, in *El Estadio: Once de septiembre en el país de Edén* (Buenos Aires, 1974)

Officials quickly squelched these off-script encounters, though the images captured, however slight and "focused on the gaps," would soon circulate in the international press.

Even as "the military internationalized the stadium in an unprecedented way,"[136] it would take decades to uncover the depth of torture and terror experienced. As international media outlets announced the small amounts of information that they had gleaned on the ground in a military-controlled state, additional reports from the stadium trickled in from the foreigners who had been detained and released. On September 16, the *Associated Press* had quoted unnamed sources, "Many people have been condemned to death and executed in the national stadium, including foreigners."[137] On September 19, the *New York Times* quoted two British citizens, "There were Bolivians, Haitians, Nicaraguans, Brazilians, Uruguayans, Paraguayans, and Guatemalans in our cell and they were terrified… We saw systematic brutality, we saw prisoners, mostly Latins [sic], kneeling on the ground with their hands up in the air being kicked and beaten on their calves. Another group came into our cell and appeared to have been badly beaten up." Five days later, the New York daily reported the arrests of U.S. citizens in Chile and noted "Two American members of the Maryknoll mission… are still among 7,000 Chilean and prisoners in the National Stadium. Their release had been promised last Friday."[138] Meanwhile, United States citizens Adam Schesch and Patricia Garrett, stadium prisoners between September 14 and September 21, offered some of the most harrowing accounts in press conferences in Miami and Madison on September 24 and October 2, respectively.[139] Between these dates, moreover, the two testified before Senator Ted Kennedy's Subcommittee on Refugees on September 26. Married graduate

[136] Hite, "Chile's National Stadiun: As Monument, as Memorial," 2004
[137] Associated Press, "Chile Junta Says Fighting Persists and Warns Foes," September 16, 1973
[138] *New York Times*, "Chile Seizes a U.S. Professor in Hunt for Leftists," September 25, 1973
[139] Adam Schesch, Adam Schesch Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society

students from the University of Wisconsin, Schesch and Garrett were conducting doctoral research in Chile. In the xenophobic atmosphere after the military coup, neighbors denounced the North American foreigners. Removed from the general population during the general chaos that marked the initial weeks of the concentration camp, Schesch testified that they "witnessed in the following manner between 400 and 500 executions by automatic weapons of people brought out in groups onto the playing field of the stadium, in groups of 10 to 20." They described "life lines" and "death lines" in which Chilean prisoners were categorized. Those of the latter "would be led out [onto the field]. Within a few minutes outside the hall, in the stadium itself, we would hear a heavy sustained outburst of automatic weapon fire."[140] Four days later Kennedy secured passage in the Senate to block economic and military aid to Chile.[141]

Meanwhile, the world-wide attention that had surrounded Allende's socialist project beginning in 1970 ensured that its abrupt termination at the hands of the military in 1973 would come under intense international scrutiny. On the heels of the coup, the Secretary General of Britain's Labour Party wrote to Chilean Senator and president of the Radical Party in Chile that the death of Allende "symbolises the crushing hopes of millions of people, inside and outside your country who were participating in or watching sympathetically this valiant effort to fundamentally redistribute power in society through democratic means."[142] Thus, new solidarity networks and organizations sprung up in European, North American, and Latin American cities. Organizations such as the International Association of

[140] Statement of Mr. and Mrs. Garrett-Schesch, September 28, 1973, transcripts given to author from Patricia Garrett. Schesch and Garrett were also interviewed by a news channel in Miami after arriving to the US and gave a press conference in Madison, WI, on October 3, 1973.
[141] Stern, Vol II, 96; Stern also cited Schesch and Garrett's
[142] The Times (London), "World anger aroused by Chilean Coup," September 13, 1973

Democratic Jurists, the International Federation of Human Rights, and the International Movement of Catholic Jurists compiled information about the Chilean coup for reports which placed the majority of the military junta's prisoners at the National Stadium.[143] As the international community watched in horror at what was happening in Chile and mobilized to fight against it, "Dramatic black-and-white photographs and footage of the prisoners… made their way into the international media."[144] Though descriptions of torture and the depth of repression at the stadium had not yet surfaced in newspaper reports, what did appear was the conversion of Santiago's two principal sporting venues into gigantic prisons. "Of the most notorious places of detention initially in the capital, including internationally, were two sports complexes: the National Stadium and Chile Stadium," reported the Rettig Report years later.[145]

As the immediate months after the military coup waned and the stadium camp closed on November 9, the initial phase of the stadium camp in the world's collective consciousness moved out of the media and into a small genre of testimonial books and literature. These accounts were similar to the journalistic accounts in that they served to denounce the coup and newly installed military regime. But they also differed dramatically. Where foreign media accounts noted the massive amounts of prisoners being held at the stadium, the testimonial accounts came from former prisoners and offered detailed descriptions. This *testimonial truth*, "the idea that personal experience and personal witnessing, told as living memory of the authentic, could bring out a collective truth denied in the official story,"[146] gave the first glimpses of the inner-workings, daily dealings, and command structure at the

[143] Special Report to the New York Times, "Chile is Accused of Rights Abuses," October 14, 1973
[144] Hite, "Chile's National Stadiun: As Monument, as Memorial," 2004
[145] Rettig Report, 97
[146] Stern, Vol. II, 97

stadium camp. Penned by Chileans who had escaped to exile, personalized experiences showed relations between prisoners and military personnel, what prisoners ate, where they slept, how they endured torture, and the solidarity and struggle within the stadium. With the public domain in Chile silenced, the international arena welcomed the testimonial truths. These more detailed pictures worked to galvanize international support against the military junta. Chilean Ariel Dorfman concluded that these accounts

> could be gathered under the common rubric of testimonial literature, referring to the repression Chilean men and women have suffered under dictatorship and the time that they have spent in concentration camps… [where] most of these efforts were born in 1973 and were shaped in 1974 and 1975, made urgent by the need for political denunciation and possible because it catered to a large population that constituted an attractive commercial market for publishing houses.[147]

The denunciation of the coup's crimes by former prisoners resonated with and paralleled the growing international solidarity movement with Chile, not just an attractive commercial market.[148] It also illustrated the process to shape the critical, oppositional strain of world public memory that would sustain the targeted people's perspective against the rationalizations and erasures of the coup's junta.

Sergio Villegas's aptly named *El Estadio: 11 de septiembre en el país de edén* was the first testimonial book to find print after the Chilean coup. Published in Buenos Aires in March of 1974, Villegas relied on the testimonies of the victims who in their majority had suffered and survived the camps at the National Stadium and Chile Stadium. He interviewed subjects in a safe house in Santiago's San Miguel neighborhood, in a foreign embassy while waiting to flee to exile, and on the flight out of Chile. The book offered to the world a stark, sobering account of prisoners' experiences inside the stadium specifically and the blood-soaked streets of Santiago more generally. "Here there is a first look of what was being

[147] Ariel Dorfman, *Some Write for the Future* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), 133
[148] Norberto Flores, "Dos voces en pugna: la historia oficial como narrativa de legitimación y el relato testimonial chileno, 1973-1989," *Cyber Humanitatis*, No. 14 (Autumn: 2000)

installed in the country… the actions of the officials, of the civilian fascists, of the bosses, and behind them…General [Pinochet]… we can see the installation of state terror in its initial cruelties," Francisco Miranda wrote of *El Estadio*,

> They are recent stories of the endured torture… the first outpouring of people returning from horror, of suffering, of hell, of excruciating torture. It isn't something that is from memory developed over years. It is the shout recently released from the concentration camps: the National Stadium, Stadium Chile, Military Warfare Academy, the navy ships, the police stations.[149]

Translated into five languages, the book circulated in dozens of European and Latin American nations. According to Villegas, who would publish a second (1990) and third edition (2004), *El Estadio*

> isn't a brief history of the coup, of it essential facts and an analysis of any kind. It is simply a picture of the incredible violence that the dictatorship imposed on Chile. *El Estadio* is a story and it was made as it could be in that moment, under backbreaking conditions of terror, of persecution, of the shootings in the streets, of the cadavers lining the sidewalks.[150]

The intense situation in Chile and immediacy of the testimonial truth in *El Estadio* helped put together the personal experiences of prisoners in a collective framework. In some sections, subjects reflected together on imprisonment, torture, and "incredible things." In one instance former prisoner Patricio (last name not given) remarked, "they carried a man around the bike track completely naked, with the exception of a blanket over his head. At that moment, they made us take the blankets off our head, precisely when the man appeared at the door. Two soldiers carried him because he couldn't walk on his own."

Apart from these incredible things, the book also established the first seeds of a stadium narrative that would echo through others' accounts in the coming years. Dorfman

[149] Francisco Miranda, "'El Estadio': instalación del terrorismo de Estado en Chile," *CARCAJ: Flechas de Sentido*, November 7, 2013
[150] Villegas, *El Estadio*, 11

conceded of testimonial literature in general that "we suddenly have the impression of that the authors writing their memoirs are interchangeable."[151] However, Villegas's informants planted in the international public's consciousness the emblematic events of the stadium camp; the visit by Cardinal Raul Silva, the dreaded *encapuchado*, and the polish priest who operated on behalf of the junta. These personalized narratives served as political denunciations of the illegal military coup as much as stories to counter official discourse coming from the military junta. Much more than the *memory* of the stadium-as-concentration camp or even specific attempts at history-making about it, the testimonial literature that emerged around the stadium beginning with *El Estadio* was aimed at political action and attempts to unite solidarity campaigns to remove Pinochet. Recognition and denunciation of the regime's violations (especially torture), not the eulogization of them, marked the testimonial literature (and journalistic accounts earlier) that first spread word about and evidence of the stadium-as-concentration camp. And importantly, the literature cited the violence at the stadium to convey its character and magnitude.

Following the testimonial work of Villegas, Rodigo Rojas the prominent communist, advisor to Allende, director of the communist daily *El Siglo*, and stadium prisoner Rodrigo published *Jamás de Rodillas: Acusación de un prisionero de la Junta Fascista de Chile* (1974) from Moscow. This personalized account had the stadium at the center of Rojas's own denunciation of the military junta and, also, revolutionary hope he saw that would soon overthrow Pinochet's regime. For Rojas the National Stadium was where "thousands of sons from our people [*pueblo*] met for the first time the ferocious and inhuman face of fascism."[152] His intimate, in-depth portrait of the concentration camp moved beyond Villegas's *El*

[151] Dorfman, 154
[152] Rojas, *Jamás de Rodillas,* 13

Estadio in that it was the first memoir of the stadium. Through his personal story of imprisonment at the National Stadium, Rojas's testimony added new details to the stadium camp's "strange internal organization"—from rudimentary medical treatment to hardboiled eggs delivered to some prisoners by COPACHI.[153]

> Now I would know the stadium in all of its details, but not as a sports field, rather as a center of torture and death, I would know the horrors of the torture in the bike track and I would be a witness to the crimes committed by the traitors who usurped power after killing the constitutional president of Chile.[154]

Much like Villegas's account, Rojas merged the personal and the collective, experiences that would later appear prominently in stories about the stadium—both from former prisoners and non-prisoners: the day-to-day games of dominoes and cards, the choruses organized by Chilean Senator Vicente Sota and workers from MADECO, the sinister *Velódromo* and *Disco Negro*, the executions and simulated executions, and the presence of prominent personalities such as Samuel Riquelme and Luis Alberto Corvalán.[155]

Luis Alberto Corvalán also added to the international understandings about the stadium camp—exacerbated by his death in Belgium from torture he received at the stadium. Corvalán was the son of Alberto Corvalán, a Chilean senator and Secretary General of Chile's Communist Party. The younger Corvalán entered the National Stadium as a prisoner on September 15, 1973 and remained until it closed two months later. He endured savage torture. After days of repeated interrogations, the easily recognizable Corvalán was paraded, haggard, beaten, bloodied, barely able to walk, around the stadium's running track for all to see. His wife Ruth, daughter to Allende's Minister of the Economy Pedro Vuskovic, endured

[153] Predecessor to the Vicariate of Solidarity
[154] Rojas, 9
[155] Rojas suffered three simulated executions and was tortured in the *velódromo* over the course of three weeks.

the same, also at the National Stadium. Corvalán survived more than eight months as a prisoner of Pinochet. After he achieved exile, he became a leading voice against the Pinochet regime. He would testify in 1975 in Mexico before the III Session of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile, elaborate on that testimony to for his book *Escribo sobre el dolor y la esperanza de mis hermanos*, and die in October later that year in Belgium.[156] Corvalán's testimonial accounts framed the stadium as central to that of "the Chilean family's" experience of the military coup and its aftermath. In his denunciation of the dictatorship and descriptions of who was tortured and how inside the stadium, he wrote humbly

> I must declare that in no way was I the most tortured or beaten among the thousands of prisoners in the Stadium. Thousands of youngsters, of women, including pregnant mothers, were castigated (*flagelar*) in the most brutal and sadistic way. Many died in the interrogations, others went to die in the concentration camps, hospitals or in their homes as a consequence of the beatings given by the torturers.

Corvalán also declared: "I testify to having seen in the National Stadium and in Chacabuco Brazilian police and North American advisors. I testify to have seen them in the Stadium's stands, in the Stadium's cells, and in the *velódromo*." That Corvalán would die shortly after these testimonies added symbolic impact to the sadism that Chilean exiles and their allies denounced in the international theater. His *Escribo sobre el dolor and esperanza de mis hermanos*, his closeness with other Chilean protest voices in exile, his prominent position, father, and family, and his symbolism of the young Chilean generation that was supposed to lead revolutionary Chile but never did all coalesced into a collective story for Chileans inspired to fight against the dictatorship.

[156] The III Session of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile was held in Mexico City from February 18 to February 21, 1975. It was titled "Denouncement and Testimony" and included the participation of former stadium prisoners Rodrigo Rojas, Luis Alberto Corvalán, Jorge Montealegre, and Manuel Cabieses.

In 1977, two years after Corvalán's death, another prominent figure published his testimony of surviving the stadium camp in exile. Rolando Carrasco, a journalist for *El Siglo* and radioman for Radio *Luis Emilio Recabarren*, dependency of the powerfully influential Workers' United Center,[157] released *Prigué* (Prisionero de Guerra). In it, he expanded on Rojas's account of the intimate details that only a stadium camp survivor would know. Likewise, similar to Corvalán, Corrasco directed attention to the tortured experiences of the prisoners' loved ones who suffered outside the stadium. The journalist's account in 1977 centralized the stadium as the starting point of military repression in the arrary other concentration camps and detention centers. Carrasco survived detention in the Ministry of Defense, the Regimiento Buin, the National and Chile stadiums, and the camps Chacabuco, Punchucaví, Ritoque, and Tres Alamos. So too did he survive and subsequently capture the collective experiences that his contemporaries had begun previously: the mass arrest of the students and professors from Santiago's State Technical University (UTE), the solidarity of prisoners in *Escotilla* 7, and the cohesiveness and relative good fortune of those belonging to the Colegio de Periodistas.[158] In a direct but still subtle way Carrasco measured and announced the pain of torture, strength of solidarity, and the general conditions in Chile through the lens of the National Stadium. He admitted that leaving the stadium-as-concentration camp with his life to be transferred to the Chacabuco camp was a moment of happiness and hope, figuring that the closing and evacuation of the stadium "signified

[157] Approximately 800,000 workers were organized under and claimed affiliation with CUT at the time of the coup.

[158] Chile's Colegio de Periodistas maintained a relative good—or at least working—relationship with Pinochet's junta due to its director's party affiliation, Democratic Christians. The imprisoned of the group, which included the likes of Oscar Wiess of *La* Nación, Alberto Gamboa of Clarín, Carlos Naudon from the Jesuit *Mensaje*, Guillermo Torres of *El Siglo*, Manuel Cabiese *Punto Final*, and Rodrigo Rojas—also received strong support from the international press corps and professional organization that helped secure their freedom.

exclusively a way of removing the focus of national and international attention from the gigantic Stadium converted into a Concentration Camp."[159]

The testimonial literature that emerged to denounce Chile's newly installed dictatorship and the crimes it was committing against its citizens came in large part from prominent men who had escaped to exile. Between 1973 and 1978, Chilean politicians, professionals, and close associates published personal experiences and participated in commissions and solidarity networking. Leaders such as Villegas, Rojas, Corvalán, and Carrasco contributed greatly to international awareness and denunciation of the military dictatorship's crimes. In these accounts, the National Stadium was a prominent place that exposed and offered evidence of this. The stadium experiences, in fact, framed the collective starting point of repression and imprisonment as much as offered a painful backdrop for personal testimonies. The stadium was the first encounter with Chilean fascism, according to the Chileans in exile. "The stone walls of the *veledrómo* reminded us… of Buchenwald, the sinister extermination camp of Hitler's fascism," wrote Rojas.[160] Corvalán's testimony in Mexico in 1975 and reproduced in his book followed,

> Based on the lived experience during eleven months [as a] captive in the concentration camps, [and is] meant to be a truthful and objective telling of the violation and abuse of the fundamental rights of man, who lived and was a firsthand witness to them. It motivates me to write this testimony, not of the physical and moral pain they inflicted on me, but the pain it causes me to know that it this moment thousands of men, women, young people, and even children, like I lived yesterday, suffer today the torture, hunger, and coldness of the concentration camps installed by fascism in my country.[161]

[159] Carrasco, 116
[160] Rojas, 16
[161] Luis Alberto Corvalán, *Escribo sobre el dolor y la esperanza de mis hermanos* (Sofia: Sofia Press, 1976), 4; Manual Cabiese, prisoner in the National Stadium and various other concentration camps, also testified in Mexico, gave a scathing indictment of United States, and denounced the Chileans who were trained at the

These personal narratives about collective repression went well beyond the general media accounts that announced the stadium-as-concentration camp immediately after the coup and echoed longer. As these reports of the Chilean coup subsided in the years subsequent to 1973, a strong solidarity network that included a large number of Chileans in exile continued to circulate the stories of torture and imprisonment and raise awareness of its continued practice under the Pinochet regime. As popular media accounts ceased to persist, professional and political knowledge was distributed by and through the likes of Chilean exiles as much as international groups and commission such as Amnesty International, sectors of the Catholic Church, International Association of Democratic Jurists, and the Washington Office on Latin America. That the testimonial literature and the stories they circulated had the stadium as a central feature of Pinochet's repression meant that the official silences produced in Chile would not go unchallenged. In the new social and political climate that came with the 1980s, these initial voices of denunciation would be retrieved to inspire a new phase, place, and way to speak about the stadium. These first firsthand accounts left the first historical traces for others to reflect on in subsequent years when memory was a key concern, while they marked in the then present a political and moral weapon to announce/denounce human rights violations. The actions of these early exiles exhibited the historical resolve and awareness of individuals in the immediate aftermath of a rupture of profound historical significance.

Meanwhile, a year after Moscow's Nóvosti Press published Carrasco's *Prigué*, Avon Books of New York published the North American lawyer Thomas Hauser's *The Execution*

School of the Americas in Panama. See, *Denuncia y Testimonio Tercer Sesión de la Comisión Internacional de Investigación de los Crimines de la Junta Militar en Chile*, Mexico City, Mexico, February 18-21, 195, pp.44-51

of Charles Horman: An American Sacrifice in New York. Hauser's work was a significant departure from the testimonial literature that denounced the military coup, though it represented an emblematic aspect of the international solidarity movement that had sprung up to challenge Pinochet. It also represented a major moment in the history-telling and historiographical trends of the stadium-as-concentration camp. Among the thousands of people that were sent to the stadium as prisoners immediately after the coup, ten were North Americans. Of these ten, two—Charles Horman and Frank Teruggi—were executed. The death of two U.S. citizens and speculation of U.S. complicity in those deaths launched a fact-finding crusade by the victims' family members and friends, especially those of Charles Horman. The dramatic search for Charles Horman by family and friends immediately after his disappearance on September 17 centered on the National Stadium—as U.S. embassy personnel were slow to act. Charles's father, Ed Horman, traveled to Chile on October 5. In Santiago, after a frustrating week of perceptible stone-walling by U.S. officials since his arrival, he was finally allowed access to the National Stadium. On October 12, Ed entered the stadium and met with its commander, Col. Espinoza. After passing beneath the stadium's bleachers, Ed emerged onto the playing field amidst thousands of prisoners under gun point. He was given a microphone which amplified his voice through speakers for all to hear, "Charles Horman, this is your father. I'm here in the hope that you can hear me." Just then, a young man came out of the stands, looking like Charles from a distance, running. "For one glorious moment," Ed later recalled in an interview with Hauser, "I thought I had found him. Then the fellow got closer, and I realized it wasn't my son… Right then, I knew I'd never see Charles again."[162] Ed never did see his son alive again. Five days later, through friendly

[162] Ed Horman quoted in Thomas Hauser, *The Execution of Charles Horman: An American* Sacrifice, (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978), 163

contacts at the Ford Foundation, Ed received a tip from Program Advisor Lovell Jarvis, "Your son was executed in the National Stadium on September 20."[163] Ed, in turn, confronted U.S. Consul Frederick Purdy with this information. The next day, in a reported conversation that he later denied, Purdy confirmed Charles's death at the stadium. Charles's remains were officially identified after an excuse of "misclassification" in a Santiago morgue on October 19th by friend Steve Volk.

An exhausted Ed Horman returned to his New York home and "began collecting documents" and had "written hundreds of letters, made innumerable telephone calls, interviewed scores of witnesses, pressured dozens of Senators and Congressmen, and exhausted every other avenue that might effect a thorough investigation into the causes of Charles's death," to no avail. Meanwhile, Volk "worked to expose the truth about what happened to Teruggi and Horman and in the solidarity movement with Chile," helping give form and life to the international solidarity movement's post-coup phase.[164] This stage sought to respond to the human rights violations happening in Chile and "had a significant impact on the consciousness of broad sectors of the North American public."[165] Margaret Power noted the efforts of national solidarity networks, ranging from activists' pressure for congressional commissions to a 1974 refusal by the International Longshoreman and Warehouse Union to allow the Chilean Navy Ship *Esmeralda*—known as the "torture ship"—to enter San Francisco's port to a 1975 National Chile Solidarity Conference in Chicago attended by thirty-eight solidarity organizations. With Horman and Teruggi as the two North Americans killed as a result of the coup, the pair became tied to the collective

[163] Hauser, 169
[164] Margaret Power, "The U.S. Solidarity Movement with Chile in the 1970s," *Latin American Perspectives*, Issue 169, Vol. 36, November 2009, 46-66
[165] Ibid., 54

consciousness of human rights violations happening in Chile, and the U.S.'s role in supporting the military coup.[166]

Ed Horman and Steve Volk, now a professor of history at Oberlin College, were only two of the individuals who responded to Charles and Frank's deaths specifically and the coup more generally in the U.S. Hauser was another, contributing perhaps the foundational work in the now internationally famous case of Charles Horman. Hauser penned *The Execution of Charles Horman: An American Sacrifice* in an effort "to relate the best I can the facts as I found them. If I appear to have emphasized the opinions of Ed and Elizabeth Horman, it is because they are a people without a voice in high councils of power and are possessed of a view that I believe merits further investigation."[167] Political scientist Barry Seldes stated soon after the book's release, "Hauser presents important evidence of the involvement of American officials in this affair. His highly readable, credible, and sensitive account ought to be in most libraries,"[168] while *The New York Times Book Review* remarked "Devastating… Anyone jaded by the age of paranoia, certain he knows all he needs to know about skullduggery of American intelligence agencies and the duplicity of the State Department, owes it to himself to read the book." Hauser's book is a full, if not frightening, account of Charles Horman's last days and the first days and weeks of his family and friends' now forty year search for truth and justice.

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[166] Henry Kissinger, head of the "40 committee" responsible for U.S policy in Latin America and the ultimate author responsible for U.S. participation in Allende's overthrow, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in November of 1973, jointly with Vietnam's Le Duc Tho. The latter refused the award next to Kissinger.
[167] Hauser, 255
[168] Barry Seldes, review of *The Execution of Charles Horman: An American Sacrifice*, Library Journal 6/1/1978, Vol. 103 Issue 11, p1164

Hauser's 1978 publication would make waves the world over when Constantin Costa-Gavras adapted it for the international hit film, *Missing*, in 1981. The film, which Hauser described as "an excellent dramatization of my book," went on to win at the prestigious Cannes Film Festival.[169] In 1982, *Time* magazine reported weeks before the nationwide release in the U.S. that it aired "to packed houses in six cities" and is "a vivid new movie… potent for audiences around the world, suggesting that the U.S. not only helped mastermind the 1973 coup in Chile, but condoned the murder of a young American who stumbled upon a secret."[170] The publication of Hauser's book and, by extension, the release of Costa-Gavras's movie were watershed moments in the history and memory-making of the stadium-as-concentration camp. Not only was Hauser's Horman-stadium connection pivotal to disseminating knowledge of the violence unleashed by the military junta. But this work also helped to offer evidence into the United States' role in the Chilean coup. Unlike the journalistic and testimonial literature that centered the stadium in the denunciations of the Pinochet regime, Hauser (who had never been to Chile and met Charles Horman only twice) wrote *The Execution of Charles Horman* to illustrate the plight of the Horman family and as a critical analysis of the United States military and diplomatic corps; as Hauser put it, "to purify our government and make it better."[171]

Hauser's account is significant to the historiography and memory of the stadium for a few reasons. Not only was it turned into an award-winning film by the renowned Costa-Gavras. But the arrest, execution, and death of Horman centered the stadium as a focal point: the scene of the crime, as it were. It was at this historiographical moment that Charles

[169] Hauser quoted in "Missing: Fact or Fiction," *Time*, Vol. 119, Issue 10, March 8, 1982
[170] Ibid.
[171] Hauser, 255

Horman entered into popular stadium lore. The Charles Horman story starting with Hauser and amplified by Costa-Gavras would imbed itself into the major and minor works—popular, legal, journalistic, testimonial, and scholarly—committed to the stadium camp. Through all of this, Horman was cast as an international icon of the human rights violations happening in Chile and the nefarious foreign policies and secrets of the United States. He would later become an international and national (Chilean) boon for memory activists associated with the stadium.[172] Joyce Horman, Charles's widow, remarked at a celebration of the twenty-year mark of *Missing* at New York's Studio 54, the film "played a very important role in raising international consciousness about the wrongness of human rights crimes."[173] The works by Hauser and Costa-Gavras, moreover, had ripple effects that rankled U.S. Ambassador to Chile Nathaniel Davis. After the release of Costa-Gavras's *Missing* and its airing of dirty State Department secrets, the former Ambassador filed a lawsuit against the filmmaker, Hauser, and Universal Pictures for defamation of character. *Missing*, Costa-Gavras's first

[172] The Charles Horman story became imbedded in the story of the stadium-as-concentration camp, and vice-versa, due to the continuous search for truth and justice from the Horman family and allies. Hauser's book and Costa-Gavras's film catapulted this search to new levels. After the film played to audiences around the world, Horman began to appear in the memoirs, testimonies, truth commissions, and popular memory projects about the stadium camp. In 1988 The Organization of the Relatives of the Politically Executed (AFEP) recognized in its self-published *El Estadio Nacional* that "the most publicized case has been that of the North American journalist Charles Horman" about the U.S. involvement in the Chilean coup. The Rettig Report in 1990 recognized Horman as "Detained on September 17, 1973 in his residence, transported to the National Stadium. He was executed outside of the margin of legality on September 18, 1973 while in the custody of State agents." The Horman story would continue to appear in the media accounts about the stadium in the post-dictatorship era. Between 2000 and 2002 the executed North American was the center of media and memory attention when Chilean Judge Juan Guzmán initiated the first criminal review of the crimes committed at the stadium while investigating the North American's death. Hauser's initial account of Horman has spiraled into an internationally recognizable case, culminating into a judicial case that called Col. Espinoza in for questioning and mounted a reenactment of the concentration camp conditions at the stadium in 2002.

[173] The New York Times, "Public Lives: The Mission of a Sept. 11 Widow (Sept. 11, 1973)" April 23, 2002, p.B2

film in English, prompted the State Department "to issue an unusual three-page statement" that disputed the movie's major claims.[174]

The major works of the 1970s that focused on the stadium-as-concentration camp had little to do with memory and justice. They focused first and foremost on the denunciation of the military coup and offered testimonial evidence to the international community about the human rights violations that were happening at the moment. In the months immediately after the coup, the military junta executed unprecedented numbers of mass arrests and turned the National Stadium into the nation's largest prison to accommodate this. The stadium fast became a symbol for the coup conditions in Chile, as an international press corps covered the events with interest. These accounts shed little light on the experience and meaning of detention at the concentration camp. They did, however, help focus attention on Pinochet's repression by using the stadium as an emblematic lens. In many respects, the stadium became ground zero for reporting the arrests and detentions of thousands of Chileans and foreigners. After the stadium-as-concentration camp closed and Pinochet's repression turned from mass arrests to a more refined attack against leftist political militants, international newspaper accounts of the stadium slowed and testimonies from Chileans who experienced imprisonment and torture increased. Along with these firsthand accounts, official reports from international organizations also began to appear, citing the stadium's use as a center of detention. Tellingly, the testimonial literature that held the stadium as a centerpiece of the military junta's violations came mostly from prominent men who acted in concert in exile, penning memoirs, establishing and participating in solidarity networks, and contributing to professional commissions to denounce the dictatorship. These testimonial accounts

[174] Commentary concerning the State Department's statement can be found at http://www.hormantruth.org/ht/missing

described in intimate detail the inner-workings of the concentration camp, the prisoner solidarity, the command structure, and, horrifically, the torture. "Much has been said about the National Stadium, but very little has been about the part that forms a section of the sports complex," testified Rojas before the International Commission in 1975, "the *velódromo* of Santiago. There functioned the centers designated as 'Intensive Treatment,' where thousands of comrades in prison were brutally tortured by soldiers of the Chilean military, especially by Air Force officers."[175] Framed under the inhumanity of fascism, the torture of citizens in a country once internationally respected as a democratic oasis and heralded for its adherence to constitutional law was all the more troubling to world observers as well as Chileans. Stern described the "cultural shock," that "many Chileans believed such violence by the state…to be an impossibility. Fundamentally, their society was too civilized, too law abiding, too democratic."[176] After learning about the stadium camp's innermost secrets, many international observers—as much as their Chilean counterparts—would become more shocked and repulsed by what happened on the heels of the coup than the coup itself.

The lone and significant departure from these journalistic and testimonial accounts that cast the spotlight on the stadium-as-concentration camp was Hauser's work in 1978. His account reconstructed the curious circumstances of the arrest, disappearance, and death of Charles Horman—centering the search of the U.S. citizen around the National Stadium though hardly focusing on the torture happening inside of it. It also resulted in the internationally recognizable film *Missing*. "There has been a lot said about Horman's death," reported *El Mercurio* in 2002, "It is one of the most well-known cases on an international

[175] Testimony of Rodrigo Rojas in the Third Session of the International Investigative Commission of the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile, Mexico City, February 18-21, 1975
[176] Stern, Vol. I, xxii

level, especially because of its movie version, by Constantin Costa-Gavras, won [at] the Cannes Film Festival."[177] Hauser's account and Costa-Gavras's dramatization of the events surrounding Horman helped bolster the claims of the Chileans in exile who had condemned the United States' involvement in and knowledge of the military coup. Hauser's analysis of how U.S. officials did and didn't act and what Horman may have known about U.S. participation in the coup, moreover, cast considerable doubt on official stories coming from the U.S. military and diplomatic corps.

The symbolism of the stadium-as-concentration camp in the immediacy of the denunciations of the dictatorship lost significance as the post-coup years gave way to an increasingly institutionalized Pinochet dictatorship. The testimonies of the Chilean exiles did not produce their ultimate objective: to remove Pinochet from power. They did, however, galvanize a strong international solidarity network that continued to apply pressure on the dictatorial regime. By the 1980s the surprising staying power of the Pinochet dictatorship was confirmed, though the strongman faced mounting opposition both at home and abroad. Looking to shore up legitimacy on both fronts Pinochet created a new constitution in 1980, dismantled the gestapo-style group DINA, emphasized a strong capitalist economy, and allowed a campaign that repatriated Chilean exiles. As part of this balancing act, coupled with strong impulses from civil society, Pinochet permitted limited organizing on the part of students, workers, and an oppositional media as part of a "political opening" announced by his Minister of the Interior in 1982. At the same time memory was emerging as a central component in Chilean society, especially for opponents of the regime, as Pinochet continued to consolidate power. Stern argued "that 'memory' itself had turned into an important

[177] El Mercurio, "El Caso Horman: Guzmán reconstruye hechos del estadio," May 15, 2002

cultural and political concept. By the early 1980s, conflict about what happened in 1973 and thereafter was not simply conflict about the events or interpretation of the past. It was something more sacred: memory against erasure, memory as staying true to lost people and lost values. It was memory as memory-truth."[178] As such, contending emblematic memory frameworks vied for primacy in a newly opened public and political environment, however small. Part of this was witnessed in the oppositional press where the testimonial books first published in exile found second editions published in Chile. Moreover, weekly, bi-weekly and monthly national publications found firmer voices as magazines such as *Análisis*, *Hoy*, *APSI*, and *Cauce*, among a few select others, carried stories geared towards a return to democracy and defense of human rights. "During the dictatorship it was the oppositional media that tried to recover [an authentic mode of communication] for the communicative phenomenon to that part of Chilean society that was marginalized in official discourse, creating new circuits of production and distribution and opening new space to debate ideas," according to the memory project Memoria Chilena.[179] Thus, as the tenure and immediacy of the testimonial literature in exile that carried the accounts of the stadium-as-concentration camp waned internationally at the onset of the 1980s, new openings on the national level began to reveal the memory-truths of the coup.

Outside the context of Costa-Gavras's *Missing* in the early 1980s the stadium-as-concentration camp did not receive fresh coverage in the international arena. Nationally, however, with memory emerging as a central component in Chile's new socio-political environment, the small openings in the oppositional media published the first accounts of the

[178] Stern, Vol. II, 238

[179] Memoria Chilena is a digital resource center that "offers documents and original contents related to central themes of [Chileans'] cultural identity." It is administered by Center of Libraries, Archives and Museum and the National Library of Chile. See, www.memoriachilena.cl

stadium-as-concentration camp. The most notable was a four part series penned by former stadium prisoner Alberto 'Gato' Gamboa and published in *Hoy*. The series, *Un viaje por el infierno* or *A trip through hell*, broke the testimonial silence in Chile of prisoners who had passed through Pinochet's camps. Gamboa's account was similar to the testimonial literature that had emerged in exile—holding the stadium-as-concentration camp as a departure point for his imprisonment experience. However, *Un viaje por el infierno* entered into the public record not so much as denunciation of the regime but rather as a reminder or memory-truth of what had happened in the immediate aftermath of the coup. *El Clarín*, the communist paper that Gamboa directed at the time of the coup and which was revived in democracy, wrote that the "intention… is to leave a testimony of what was lived [*de lo vivido*], so that the rest know what really happened to those who suffered repression and torture."[180] Gamboa, who would figure prominently in the memory making efforts at the stadium a decade and a half later, was held inside the stadium for forty days, and savagely tortured. Despite this, he witnessed what was happening in the stadium "through the eyes of a journalist… an objective view."[181] He noted his surroundings, counted prisoners, mentally recorded images, names, and feelings for posterity's sake. He forewent exile and came forward publicly about his experiences in Pinochet's camps with the general wave of discontent that encompassed the early 1980s. His memoir was also important because he "tied together testimonial articulation to journalistic publication and, to some extent, certain forms and features associated with the minority

[180] *El Clarín*, "Un viaje por el infierno": Testimoni y violencia, July 23, 2011
[181] Peronsal interview with autor, April 2012. Transrcipts in author's possession.

tradition in Chile that, in the previous years [prior to 1984], had identified with the emerging discourse of human rights."[182]

The minority tradition that Gamboa connected to in telling the stadium-as-concentration camp story in Chile's changing memory climate and the "political opening" came in the form of two articles, also part of the oppositional press. The first and most extensive was written in 1984 by Pamela Jiles and published in *Análisis* under the headline: Executions in the Stadium: Report of the Days in Which the National Stadium was a Massive Concentration Camp.[183] Unlike Gamboa's testimonial account that situated the stadium in a longer narrative of hell, Jiles's article—as the title implies—explicitly aimed at the National Stadium—another first in Chile. Jiles compared the concentration camps utilized in the Boer Wars and how the "word [concentration camp] obtained sinister publicity during the Second World War when the Nazi regime converted those camps into places of collective extermination." The article included photographs that had been taken from the exterior of the stadium towards the *velódromo*; eerie images depicting men going to and returning from torture sessions under blankets.[184] Jiles's wrote candidly about the emblematic memory-truths of the stadium-as-concentration camp, including the executions and the *encapuchado*, or hooded-one, a turncoat who went throughout the prisoner population identifying leftist militants. The Schesch-Garrett testimony before Senator Edward Kennedy also played a prominent part for its declaration that 400 to 500 people had been executed inside the stadium. Moreover, the journalist Jiles drew on the testimonies that had been published in

[182] Jaime Peris Blanes, "Un viaje por el infierno, de Alberto Gamboa: escritura testimonial e imaginario de la reconciliación." Literatura y Lingüística, No. 24, 2011
[183] *Análisis*, Nbr. 87, July 31-August 14, 1984
[184] One of these would grace the cover of former prisoner Jorge Montealegre's 2003 memoria, *Frazadas del Estadio Nacional* or *The National Stadium's Blankets*

exile, giving ample space to the story of Luis Alberto Corvalán. In other words, in the first full length article published in Chile about the stadium-as-concentration camp, Jiles returned to some of the first sources historically bound to the stadium, the earliest testimonies, denunciations, and photographs. She also identified and offered examples of the absurdity of the earliest articles and reports that *El Mercurio* had circulated while the camp was still in use. In recounting the direct testimony and setting it in opposition to the *El Mercurio* characterizations, Jiles constructed memory contestation around the stadium in a critical period during the dictatorship.

The second and much smaller article "Estadio Nacional" was published in 1985 in *Cauce*. It consisted of a photograph of women prisoners being led into a stadium locker room at gunpoint with their hands on their necks and heads. The accompanying dialogue presented a conversation between two men, preceded by the prompt: The party at the stadium for the Chile-Paraguay match promises to be great. Pedro phoned his old friend to invite him to go the multicolor spectacular that will include [even] bonbons and bananas.

"Thanks so much," responded Juan, "but I cannot go to the National Stadium."

"I bought the tickets," insisted Pedro, "They're reserved, we won't have any problems."

> "I thank you with all of my heart but I cannot go to the National Stadium. It is something very strong. I was detained there... tortured there… many prisoners died there, other disappeared. From then the stadium stopped being only a sports complex. In October of '73 there were thousands of Chileans there. One day they closed us in and made us clean the stands. A FIFA delegation arrived to see the conditions of the field for the Chile-USSR World Cup qualifying match. Within a few days we knew the USSR would not play that game, [because] the stadium has been converted to a concentration camp, of torture and death. This gesture made the detained [prisoners] emotional. They [USSR] didn't play and lost the points, for the World Cup no less. Because of this, I cannot go to the Stadium, even if I miss this wonderful, popular

> party. All of the principles are more important than all of the goals. Can you forgive me Pedro…?"

The conversation between Pedro and Juan depicted in *Cauce* was telling of a general sentiment that prevented untold thousands to return to the stadium. Not only had Pinochet internationalized the stadium by converting it to a concentration camp. But he also soiled a place once pivotal place for popular celebrations and encounters. The public recognition of this fact in the weekly was both subtle and obvious within a local climate that was increasing calls for Pinochet's exit and a return to democracy. It was obvious for the recognition of "torture and death" but subtle and even universal as two "old friends" who would otherwise attend with great pleasure a great popular party under the auspices of an international soccer match—an almost semi-religious experience in Chile—could no longer do so. *Cauce* announced through the voices of Pedro and Juan that the stadium's popular sanctity for sports and pleasurable spectacle had been ruptured, that the unity quality of the stadium had been torn and, in fact, turned upside down to a quality of division. The stadium would never be the same, as the stadium-as-concentration camp broke silences in the mid-1980s amidst louder calls for democracy and a stronger sense of memory-truths. *Hoy* published the four-chapter series of the first prisoner memoir on Chilean soil. *Análisis* and *Cauce* continued the oppositional press's commitment with the first journalist articles about the stadium-as-concentration camp since 1973, drawing on the history of early sources and offering national public recognition of the stadium's broken sanctity through the view of two "old friends."

On April 1, 1987, Pope John Paul II landed in Chile for a five day visit—the first time a pope had stepped foot on Chilean soil. Confirmed in October 1985, regime proponents and opponents greatly anticipated the Pope's visit. For the regime and its supporters, the very

fact that the Pope was visiting seemed a victory, while a propaganda frenzy ensued. A major TV ad featured "Chile, Nothing to Hide" and the government's public relations project defined Chile as "open to the world." In fact, the military government "prepared to gain full political lift ... the true Chile that would meet John Paul II was peaceful, united, hopeful, and hardworking." Conversely, the opposition knew that the Pope was "keenly aware of Chile's human rights and poverty dramas ... and difficulties of achieving a nonviolent exit from dictatorship, a cultural yearning for an alternative" and he "used allusion and symbol to suggest sympathetic awareness of painful memory and the legitimacy of those who suffered." On April 2, the Pope held a Catholic convocation for 100,000 youth inside the National Stadium and described it as a place of "pain and suffering." While chants of "John Paul, friend, the people are with you" conjured up imagery and memory of the Allende years—"Allende, Allende, the people will defend you," so too did it bring "forth resonance between the past and present, and between the spiritual and political."[185] The crowd heard testimony from Carmen Gloria Quintana, a survivor of a viscous burning by police forces the year before. The Pope declared, "Christ is asking us to not remain indifferent before injustice, that we commit ourselves responsibly to the construction of a more Christian society, a better society."

One year later, the Organization of Relatives of the Politically Executed (AFEP) published the first full length book in Chile about the stadium camp: *El Estadio Nacional*. Self-published as the introductory book in the five volume series *True Histories Collection*, the book grew from a supplemental article by AFEP in the April/May 1987 edition of

[185] See, Stern, Vol. II, 336-344, for analysis of Pope John Paul II's visit to Chile

Análisis: "The True History of the National Stadium."[186] AFEP's Irene Manzano confirmed at a book-release conference that "The idea emerged from the Pope's visit to the place [stadium]."[187] For one of Chile's first, famous, and socially and culturally powerful human rights organizations, *El Estadio Nacional* represented a version of history that countered "voices of official history that spell out 'their version' of what was lived by way of an intricate and complex web of communicative devices on every level." The organization insisted that

> The counter-version, the spoken-history, the construction of what is real is a legitimate appeal to the dignity of man. Hence it is essential today to exercise the duty [*deber*] to recover historic memory and activate the mechanisms of the past. Without these materials of life it will be impossible to establish and construct a moral social life, and reconstruct collective loyalties.[188]

El Estadio Nacional also differed from previous accounts of the stadium-as-concentration camp. Not only was it the first full-length book dedicated solely to the stadium. But it was also the work of a demographic that fell outside the professional, political, and journalistic ranks that had positioned the stadium-as-concentration camp so prominently in testimonial memoirs and oppositional media accounts previously. AFEP understood what those in exile didn't experience and what earlier journalists had failed to grasp: that within the police state of the 1970s, against the "official history" peddled by pro-regime proponents, the unofficial history of the stadium-as-concentration camp was spoken, not written.[189] AFEP intended *El Estadio Nacional* to uncover the "invisible, the hidden," suggesting that despite the efforts of

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[186] *El Estadio Nacional* was the only volume completed for the planned *True Histories Collection*, though the titles for the for rest of the series were planned as *El Viaje de Arellano*, *El Valle de las Viudas*, *El Estadio Chile*, and *Operación Albania*, respectively.

[187] Las Ultimas Noticias, "Libro sobre sucesos en Estadio Nacional," February, 4, 1988

[188] Agrupación de Familiares de Ejecutados Políticos de Chile, *Colección Historias Verdaderas: Estadio Nacional* (Santiago: Agrupación de Familiares de Ejecutados Políticos de Chile, 1988), 2

[189] An exception can be made for the small article which featured the real or fictitious—but undeniable universal—conversation between Juan and Pedro.

earlier work pertaining to the stadium very little was known on the national level about what happened in 1973. The organization hoped the publication "can generate in the Chilean community [*población chilena*] and in particular new generations a thirst to investigate, to know the real history with its 'shadows and nightmares' so that there will not be pardon or forgetting and that we can exercise as a nation our right to justice."[190]

Perhaps the most important and distinguishing aspect of AFEP's book was the arrival of less prominent voices, coupled with explicit link between the stadium-as-concentration camp and historic memory. *Estadio Nacional* represented grassroots historical work, an unequivocal attempt to make and influence the memory of the stadium-as-concentration camp. The unofficial story of the stadium-as-concentration camp until then had circulated orally, amongst the censured former prisoners, family members, and allies. According to Manzano when the book was launched publicly at the offices of the Chilean Commission of Human Rights in February 1988, the book presented the facts "that as relatives we have collected."[191] Through this project the history of the stadium-as-concentration camp took a major turn towards the realm of public memory. AFEP's inspiration to collect, order, and publicize unofficial stadium stories spawned the subsequent stadium-as-concentration camp work, help frame it under the rubric of memory and human rights, and initialize a steady stream of grassroots historical work that has persisted to the present day.

The heightened memory politics in Chile during the second half of the 1980s paralleled the rising demands of regime change, meaning that who and how history would be told in the case that this happened proved pivotal. Nowhere was this more apparent than

[190] Agrupación de Familiares de Ejecutados Políticos de Chile, 4
[191] Las Ultimas Noticias, "Libro sobre sucesos en Estadio Nacional," February, 4, 1988

Pope John Paul II's visit and AFEP's response. With Pinochet's constitutionally declared plebiscite scheduled for 1988—which with a Pinochet victory would have allowed eight years more of military rule—the dictatorship fashioned an intense public relations and media campaign. Meanwhile, Pinochet's opponents organized to counter officialdom. AFEP mounted "an intense campaign of denunciation, and [we] saw the Pope in this place [the stadium] ask that life reign over death." Though the pope's visit and message were conservative in nature, emphasizing reconciliation and unity, his presence "set off a struggle to define the faces of true Chile—not only for the pope, but for a mass television audience."[192] The journalist Jiles summed up the polemics, the Pope "hugged, greeted, and prayed next to those who head[ed] the regime" but "it is true that the presence of John Paul II offered the possibility to the Chilean people to express a great show [*gran jornada*] of protest against the tyrant [Pinochet]. For the first time anti-dictatorship protests had to be registered—reluctantly—through official modes of communication."[193] The Pope's public encounters proved to be pivotal for off-script opportunities. The National Stadium, along with a major disruption in Santiago's O'Higgins Park and pointed questions from *pobladores* in the shantytowns that the Pope visited, was where unofficial, spoken history erupted and broke the barriers of national censorship, captured by official outlets for national circulation. AFEP filtered this memory knot into a challenge to "activate mechanisms in the past" as much as "demand justice… that the culprits be punished."[194]

Meanwhile, as the Pope utilized the symbolism of the stadium to express empathy and AFEP published the first book to record the stadium-as-concentration camp, the National

[192] Stern, Vol. II, 336
[193] Pamela Jiles, "Juan Pablo II en Chile: Sin Papa o Con Papa," *Araucaria de Chile*, No. 38, 1987
[194] La Ultimas Noticias; Also in 1988, the National Stadium celebrated its 50th birthday, resulting in small series of eulogies.

Stadium celebrated its fiftieth birthday in 1988. This resulted in a small series of eulogies in the Chilean press. Hernán Millas wrote "Not Everything has been Sports: It Has Housed Politicians, Refugees, and Prisoners of Conscience" in the *Las Ultimas Noticias*.[195] Half of Millas's interpretation of the stadium focused on the concentration camp, preceded by the Pope's recent visit. He related the plight of the imprisoned journalists and foreigners. He used the case of Alberto 'Gato' Gamboa and Alejandro Arellano of *Puro Chile* for emphasis of the first group and the Horman conspiracy as emblematic of the second. "Such was the case of [foreigners] for Charles Horman, well-off and Harvard educated… The movie *Missing* narrated the history of a father who searches for his son, whose name in real life was Charles Horman, who was executed on September 18, 1973 in the National Stadium." In another article in *La Época* the Chilean Jewish actor Nissim Sharim claimed in his title that "The National Stadium is Blue," offering reference to and his reverence for the soccer team that utilized the stadium as its home grounds. But

> suddenly everything went black. The coliseum's heart went to sleep and the place transformed into a country of moans and murmurs; a history to tell at the brink of the abyss; in silences populated with absences; in persecuted dreams and muzzled nostalgia…It took a lot to clean the eyes of mourning in order to recover the lost grace. It took a lot to return to the National Stadium. Still there are many who deny doing it. Completing 50 years of its existence, it stands as a serious witness to happiness and hurt. Now it depends on us to recover this half of the Moon. To transform its natural nostalgia en words of happiness. To reinstall the light tenderness… the forgotten truth.[196]

These public eulogies of the National Stadium in December 1988 came after Pinochet's loss in the October plebiscite. With the strongman's exit impending, emphasis of the remembrance of the stadium-as-concentration camp increased. Not only did those who

[195] Hernan Millas, "50 Years of the National Stadium: Not Everything has been Sports," December 5, 1988
[196] Nissim, Sharim, "El Estadio Nacional es azul," *La Época*, December 6, 1988, in *Tres Miradas al Estadio Nacional de Chile*

experience firsthand the violations inside the stadium insist on public recognition of this. But these expressions of homage to the stadium on its fiftieth birthday also represented challenges to remember by people who did not experience the stadium-as-concentration camp directly. As Chile transitioned from dictatorship to democracy, this sentiment increased to the extent that the stadium would become a point of encounter and emblematic reminder for memory-activists of all stripes who demanded accountability for the dictatorship's human rights violations.

During the 1970s the public remembrance of the stadium-as-concentration camp was effectively silenced inside of Chile. Prominent men and well-known organizations publicized it internationally as emblematic of the human rights violations then continuing inside the country and the illegality of the military junta. But publicly circulated accounts of the stadium-as-concentration camp didn't appear inside of Chile until the middle of the 1980s, ten years after the facts. Then, in the changing political and social environment that allowed citizens to mobilize against an institutionalized military government, the stadium-as-concentration camp pushed through to the public sphere by way of an oppositional media intent on exploiting the "political opening." During the same time memory was emerging as a key cultural component of contestation. When calls for an end to the dictatorship echoed loudest in the second half of the decade, the impending regime change intensified the communicative power of emblematic memories.[197] Victims groups and sympathetic allies began to "activate mechanisms of the past" and "historic memory" gained increasing currency within the human rights community. AFEP published the first book that described

[197] Daniel K. Walkowitz and Lisa Maya Knauer, Introduction, *Contested Histories in Public Space: Memory, Race, and Nation*, Walkowitz and Knauer, eds. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009). The authors have shown how battles of public memory are often fiercest during regime changes.

the un-official history of the stadium-as-concentration camp in 1988, arguing that the 1973 stories of the stadium specifically and repression more generally circulated not so much in print or literature but, instead, verbally.

During the life of the dictatorship, both nationally and internationally, the history of the stadium-as-concentration camp found space when and where it could: in testimonies in exile, international commissions and denunciations, press articles at home and abroad, photographs and even a movie about the arrest and execution of a North American. Moreover, within these early accounts, representations, and interpretations certain stories and collective experiences began to take emblematic shape: the citizens from the *La Legua* shantytown as the most repressed, the students and professors from Santiago's State Technical University (UTE) who witnessed the death of the famous folk singer Victor Jara, the visit from the Catholic Cardinal contrasted against a Polish priest in the service of the military at the stadium, the sinister *Disco Negro* and *Velódromo*, and the case of Charles Horman. These stories became the seeds that would grow into narrative accounts, framing the public memories of the stadium-as-concentration camp in democratic Chile. Their emergence and persistence offered fodder for future research and recall. The first series of accounts of the stadium-as-concentration camp concerned the denunciation of the torture and rights violations and the illegality of the military dictatorship's professed government, roughly between 1973 and 1978. The second series came in the 1980s and connected the stadium-as-concentration camp to the emergent memory and justice concerns, first to mobilize for a change to democracy and then to brace for it. By the late 1980s, with democracy on the near, though still uncertain, horizon, memory and justice became the watchwords associated with stadium, as new voices from grassroots human rights groups as

much as those who did not experience the stadium camp firsthand came forward to tell its story.

Glaringly, where the stadium-as-concentration camp did not appear during the dictatorship was in Chilen scholarhsip. Outside of Chile scholars analyzed the end of Allende's Popular Unity government and the beginning of the military dictatorship through a political lens of democratic processes and authoritarian rule, paralleling the debates related to the Cold War, national sovereignty, third-world struggles and socialism; memory, torture, and toxic sites were not issues of interest. Later, this limited scope widened to include a focus on testimony, Chile's new neo-liberal economy, and prospects for democracy. Academic attention to specific sites of detention and torture—and the memory of them—wouldn't emerge until after Pinochet's arrest in 1998, paralleling the development of the Villa Grimaldi Park for Peace in the late 1990s and state-led memorialization initiatives. Inside of Chile scholarly work was suppressed, though not completely silenced. Though many anti-regime scholars were purged from universities, fled to exile, and self-censored, a new generation of scholars emerged to take up the dangerous history of the coup. As they saw their purpose:

> In 1979 a group of history students from Catholic University founded a study and action group, which we called [the] 'New History Workshop.' And despite that not one Chilean university… offered courses in popular history, we assigned ourselves the task to investigate, write, and promote initiatives of the 'recovery of popular memory' in labor unions, shantytown organizations, Christian [lay] communities, and other grassroots communities [*grupos de base*] that demanded [attention] in Chile's twentieth century.[198]

The group argued that social memory was a way to combat the official versions of history which came daily in heavy doses by the military regime and its pet mouthpieces. Aware of

[198] Sergio Grez and Gabriel Salazar, eds., *Manifiesto de Historiadores*, (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 1999), 47

this power, the action group acknowledged that "History… isn't only text put out by historians but also memory and orality [*oralidad*], memory and identity, that in particular are preserved in the popular groups of our country." These students and future scholars would be charged by academics sympathetic to the regime as doing less than intense or 'hard' historical work. Representatives from the New History Workshop countered years later in the Manifesto of Historians (1999) that "We didn't idle in the 1980s in the 'light air of generalities,' but in the thick [*espeso*] and unjust air of dictatorship… The problem [was] that in the dictatorship, some could work and produce scientific history with support and recognition while [we] others had to do a variety of 'tiresome work' [*trabajos pesados*] or [work] far from the country, in exile, or in conditions of exclusion and repression, as the majority of Chileans lived."[199] The New History Workshop focused especially on the social histories of Chile's once strong and then struggling labor movement, and created an impossible to publish "Popular History Folders" during the dictatorship—now common on the syllabi of many twentieth century Chilean history courses.[200]

In the wake of Pinochet's arrest, the Workshop published a thoroughgoing critique of the official history of the era. The 1999 *Manifesto de Historiadores* decried the official history of dictatorship and its legacy in democracy. A new form of official history and silences formed under the political elite charged with Chile's transition to democracy, the Manifesto saw: a "Clean Slate" approach that emphasized quick consensus and reconciliation. In a major way the new, officially sanctioned history at the onset of democracy was foreshadowed by the event inside the National Stadium that closed the

[199] Ibid., 48

[200] Conservative historian Gonzalo Vial, who helped write the military junta's White Book that offered justification for the coup and who also participated in the Rettig Report, charged progressive, leftist historians as engaged in "tiresome work" and offered only "generalities" during the dictatorship.

dictatorship on March 12, 1990. The stadium celebration—'Chile, the way I like it'—ended the dictatorship at its symbolic starting point. Where the stadium-as-concentration camp opened the reality of dictatorship in 1973, the stadium closed it with 'Chile, the way I like it' in 1990 (Chapter 1). The National Stadium again featured as a major memory knot, erupting in public and triggering intense human feelings and responses. Patricio Aylwin, the Democractic Christian Reconciliation President presided over the event, which included many sectors and symbols of Chilean society that had been marginalized and repressed during the dictatorship. The official stance on high display carried into subsequent state led commemorations and commissions that pressed for consensus and reconciliation soon thereafter. After President Aylwin presented the findings of the Rettig Report in 1991, he articulated this Clean State approach: "The transition is complete. Today in Chile we live in a democracy." To the chagrin of human rights and memory activists, the purveyors of popular and spoken history, the *Concertación's* willingness and ability to put the painful past behind Chile was an affront to truth and justice. Memory, justice, and truth, then, became the watchwords that would define the work and attention of activits, the community, and new scholars surrounding the stadium-as-concentration camp in democracy.

With the absence of truth and justice immediate after the return to democracy, a deflated human rights movement, relief as much as self-censor, and a Clean Slate approach that disallowed deep digging and prosecuting criminals, the stadium-as-concentration camp witnessed little attention after the intense and emotional event that capped the dictatorship and inaugurated democracy. Where it did surface in an official sense, however, was Chile's National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation. This proved the first recognition by the Chilean state of the conditions of the stadium as it was in 1973. The report contextualized

the stadium as "site of detention," the largest in a long list of others. In plain, emotionless language it offered a condensed version of life inside the stadium, the visit and information from the International Red Cross, and "the conclusion that a few executions occurred in the interior of the National Stadium, as it was in various cases of people deprived of liberty [and] taken to be killed, as happened for example to North American citizens Charles Horman and Frank Teruggi."[201] It also included the confirmation of disappeared persons who had been seen alive inside the stadium, including fifteen-year old high school student Pedro Hugo Peréz. Though the Rettig Report officially recognized for the first time the stadium camp as a site of detention, it failed to mention the individual and institutional perpetrators of the crimes and violations that happened there. The officially sanctioned report was replete with silences and met by many with consternation.

In a popular way, however, the stadium stayed central in the memory of activists and their allies who demanded accountability and were dissatisfied with the Rettig Report's shortcomings and the *Concertación's* failing commitment to human rights issues. When the "Clean State" seemed to relegate the stadium-as-concentration camp to darkness in the literary, textual, and journalistic accounts in the years following the return to democracy, it was being lit with the popular *velatones*—candle ceremonies—during the annual September 11 commemorations of the 1990s. The tradition to light candles at places connected to the dictatorship's crimes and/or commemorate its victims grew out of the non-violent strategies utilized by human rights groups during the Pinochet years.[202] According to the

[201] National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation, 115

[202] Fernando Aliaga-Rojas, "Servicio para la justicia por los caminos de paz: la no violencia durante la dictadura," Serpaj (Servicio Paz y Justicia-Chile)

anthropologist, Socialist Party member, and *velatón* participant-observer Paula Mendoza, the *velatones* originated at the stadium when the "neighbors of Ñuñoa began to congregate on September 11 in the last years of the dictatorship and into democracy." Mendoza described that "there isn't a register" of the *velatones* of the late 1980s "because it was a very underground [*muy clandestine*] space of recognition and protest."[203] But with the return to democracy the small-sized yet powerfully symbolic *velatones* attracted more participants with each year. "At bottom," Mendoza explained, "people recovered their civic rights… and had the opportunity to increasingly establish themselves in large numbers." The large numbers in the 1990s grouped together Ñuñoa's neighbors, human rights activists and organizations, and local chapter of the Socialist and Communist parties. Each year after 1990 the September 11 candle commemorations grew in size and scope. Originally "people would know [of the *velatón*] mouth-to-mouth, arrive, install a candle, and leave." Later, local chapters of political parties would gather at the stadium on the emblematic anniversaries with megaphones and musical instruments, demanding justice for their fallen comrades.[204] Mendoza described how the *velatones* at the stadium morphed and amplified from an encounter of denunciation, protest, and memory into an instrument of cross-generation transmission. Her own daughter, 15 in 2012, had been an attendee "since she was a baby." By the 40th anniversary of the coup in 2013, the September 11 *velatones* at the stadium attracted hundreds and thousands, with not only political speeches but also folk music and familial celebration. Anthropologist Mendoza concluded that "with the years the

[203] Paula Mendoza interview with author, June 2012. Recording in author's possession.
[204] Socialist and communist militants received the lion's share of Pinochet's persecution, along with the MIR, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left.

velatones at the stadium have come to be one of the most important landmarks [*hitos*] in the remembrance of the coup."[205]

The public history of the National Stadium as Pinochet's largest site of detention, torture, and death appeared in various forms of media, testimony, and books during the 1970s and 1980s; first to denounce the dictatorship to international audiences, followed by national awareness to remember—as much as form—the memory-truths of the violent regime change of 1973, and finally as a mechanism to activate the past and instrument for justice on behalf of grassroots activists moving into democracy. When democracy finally arrived, a 'pacted transition'—orchestrated in large part by a still powerful Pinochet—kept official inquiries into the crimes committed at the stadium silent. Consensus and reconciliation echoed from the highest halls of power. "Chile, the way I like it" and the "Clean Slate" foreshadowed the the officially limited and sanctioned failings and sanctioned stance on the past from the *Concentación*. Yet popular attention of the stadium-as-concentration camp remained and, in fact, increased from the initial publication of popular rembrances to the form of the *velatones* as activist demands of truth and justice across the board went largely unmet. Strikingly, major historiographical silences of the stadium-as-concentration camp existed in academic and scholarly work during this time, a trend that continued into the present. In a critical way, despite popular and professional work that began to remember the stadium-as-concentration camp during the dictatorship and into democracy much left to be recovered. It was the surprise arrest of Pinochet in 1998—coincidently on the twenty-five year mark of the military coup—that unleashed unprecedented attention to the stadium-as-concentration camp

[205] In 2010, the annual stadium *velatón* took a peculiar twist when the Metropolitan Region of Ex Political Prisoners hosted a separate ceremony inside the stadium proper. As the proprietor of the Museum National Stadium, National Memory, the human rights organization received permission to host the event at *Escotilla 8*. The author attended both *velatón* events.

specifically and memory, truth, and justice more generally. The years that followed Pinochet's arrest and the approaching thirty-year mark of the coup would prove pivotal to the public history and memory of the National Stadium. The years between 2000 and 2003 opened new chapters and charted new territory for the stadium-as-concentration, ultimately resulting in a national monument designation and an approval for a human rights museum at the sporting site.

Chapter IV: The Stadium-as-Concentration Camp, 1998-2003

The first commemorative plaque. New forms of memorialization and mobilization Pinochet's arrest; emblematic anniversaries. A documentary's impact. The death of an American, a concentration camp reconstructed. Hundreds of historical hands. Interlocking memory pieces. A movement towards human rights memorials.

On October 19, 2001, a member of the Association of Relatives of the Detained-Disappeared (AFDD) climbed a ladder close to the principal entrance of the National Stadium and drilled into the perimeter wall an 80 x 60cm bronze plaque that read

> Between September 11 and November 7 1973 the National Stadium of Chile was utilized as a camp of concentration and torture. More than twelve thousand political prisoners were detained here without charges or [legal] procedures.
>
> In remembrance of all those that suffered behind its walls and for those who waited in the dark to see the light of justice and liberty.
>
> 11 September 2001

Nelson Avila, a former stadium prisoner and future senator who presided over the plaque installation ceremony, lamented to the audience that "Society's complicit silence has been maintained for almost 30 years. Until now, there hasn't existed a single signal that shows what happened here and the plaque that we inaugurate today is a first step for the recognition and rejection of such horror." The memorial act had marked another first in the public history of the stadium-as-concentration camp. In the quasi-approved ceremony, other plaque advocates came forward to voice support. Former congressman Vicente Sota spoke at the gathering, reminding those in the audience of his tenure as a stadium prisoner. He had organized a choir which would erupt with the songs of "Liberty" and the "Hymn of Happiness" when fellow prisoners were liberated. Later, Mireya Garcia, then vice-president of AFDD, voiced her support for the memorial plaque. She had made daily trips to the stadium immediately after the coup in search of information about detained family and

friends, ultimately organizing with other women making the same trip. The day of the plaque installation in 2001, Avila, Sota, and Garcia joined other stakeholders, new and old, in a plaque ceremony that marked the memory of the stadium-as-concentration camp. Avila made clear that "The hanging of the plaque is also another steps towards justice," while reserving a final thanks to the young journalist in the audience, Carmen Luz Parot, and her documentary *Estadio Nacional* "as part of the recovery of memory and reconstruction of what happened here."[206]

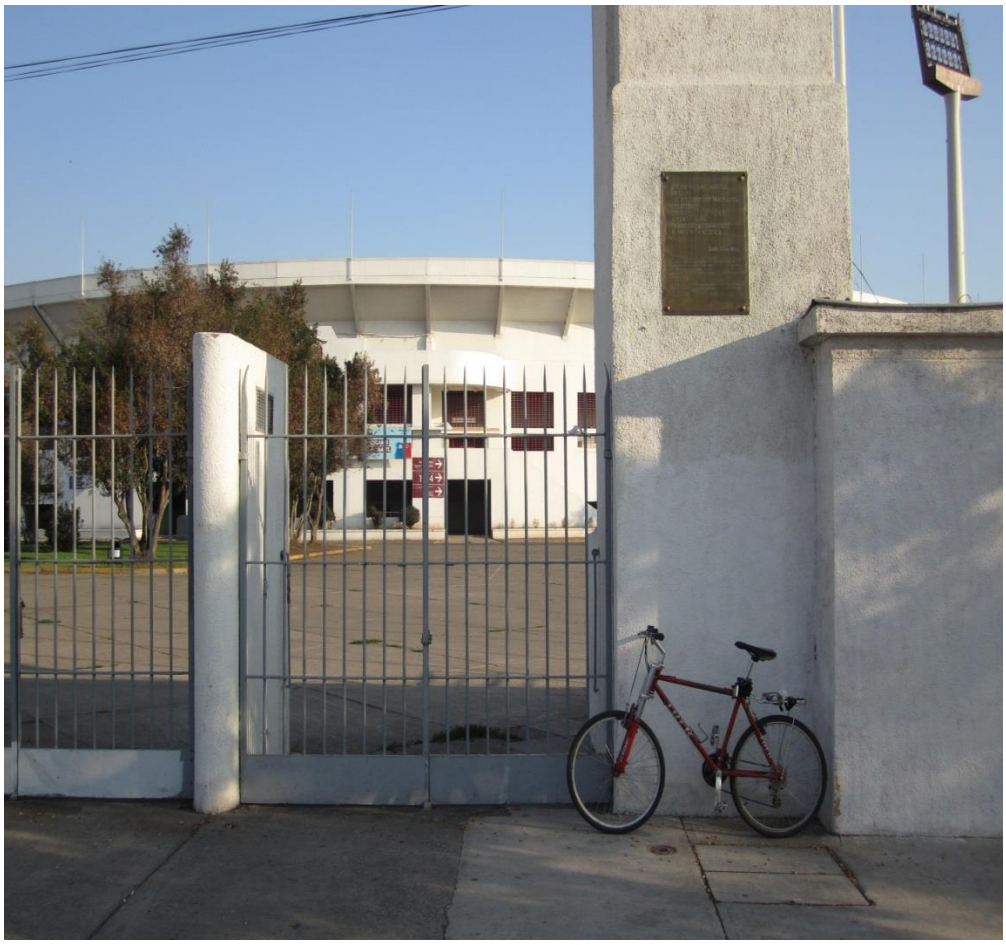

Figure 2. National Stadium's first commemorative plaque to the victims of 1973, installed October 19, 2001. Photo by author.

[206] Nelson Avila's notes for the "Programa Placa Memorial Estadio Nacional," October, 29 2001

The installation of the memorial plaque represented, and was the result of, the more formalized commemorative acts, ceremonies, and historic memory projects at the National Stadium between 1998 and 2003. Between these years, activists—Jelin's *memory entrepreneurs* (Chapter 6)—mobilized around the memory of the stadium-as-concentration camp in new ways, calling for concrete measures of recognition, remembrance, and protection of the stadium. Two years after the 2001 installation of the stadium's first memorial plaque, members of civil society had successfully lobbied the state to legally liberate the National Stadium as a national historic monument; on September 11, 2003, the stadium was secured as Chilean patrimony. The measurable uptick in the more formalized acts and commemorative projects at the stadium emerged from and paralleled the prickly political cultural environment at a pivotal moment in Chile's transitioning democracy. 1998 was the twenty-fifth anniversary of the military coup, and its lead-in saw a groundswell of memoirs, books, documentary movies, and special reports aimed at revisiting the history of dictatorship. Pinochet's previously unthinkable October 19, 1998 arrest in London on human rights violations further spurred the memory politics of Chile's young democracy, prompting calls for calm and composure while the country convulsed.

Pinochet's year and half of house-arrest across the Atlantic resonated deeply on Chilean soil. Ultimately deemed mentally unfit to stand trial for human rights violations by the British parliament, on March 3, 2000 Pinochet was deposited back to Chile to a hero's welcome by some, but also the wrath of a re-energized civil society and human rights movement. After only four days at home, moreover, the crusading Judge Juan Guzmán shockingly indicted Pinochet in the Caravan of Death case, sending shockwaves deeper into

the national psyche.[207] The fast changing political-cultural environment spiraled into the preparations for a pitched battle over history and memory moving towards the thirtieth anniversary of the military coup. With the ex-dictator in the docket for *disappeared* persons during the dictatorship, a reinvigorated human rights movement shifting the memory and justice environment, and a governing coalition trying to shore up its inadequate record of approaching the past through reconciliation and consensus, the thirty-year mark of Pinochet's coup in 203 proved the most divisive yet. According to Santiago's daily *La Tercera*, "The 30 year commemoration of September 11 has given place to the most intense and diverse revision of that date and the events that preceded and followed it." Surpassing what had been seen in 1998, "Books, testimonies, interviews, and reports have focused on it like never before… [with] the objective to deeply analyze this complex period of [our] recent history and its protagonists."

The memory dramas that played out between 1998 and 2003 in Chile echoed loudly at the National Stadium. In what Alexande Wilde aptly labeled *irruptions of memory*, "public events that break into Chile's national consciousness, unbidden and often suddenly, to evoke associations, symbols, figures, causes, ways of life to an unusual degree are associated with a political past that is still present in the lived experience of the major part of the population,"[208] the commemorative events and remembrance acts at the stadium dramatically intensified. They also pushed against, pulled from, and were a part of the wider memorial struggles in Chile. The installation of the first memorial plaque at the stadium on

[207] See, Patricia Verdugo, *Chile, Pinochet, and the Caravan of Death*, (Coral Gables, Florida: Lynne Reiner, 2001). The Caravan of Death was a special execution unit that traveled by helicopter to nine Chilean cities between September 30 and October 22, 1973. It was responsible for 97 deaths.
[208] Alexander Wilde, "Irruptions of Memory: Expressive Politics in Chile's Transition to Democracy," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (May, 1999), pp. 473-500

October 19, 2001 was a significant moment in commemorative devlopment. But it was hardly singular. It stemmed from other memory initiatives of a diverse array of participants: former stadium prisoners, human rights activists, politicians, journalists, and other committed citizenry. The *irruptions of memory*—or the stadium's memory irruptions—united new and old stakeholders when Chile was, in Wilde's words, "an arena of deeply divided public discourse, shot through with contending and mutually exclusive collective representations of the past." The irruptions mobilized activists around the memory of the stadium-as-concentration camp in unprecedented ways at a critical moment in post-dictatorship history.

Arguably the largest interlocking piece of the stadium's memory puzzle between 1998 and 2003 was Carmen Luz Parot's documentary *Estadio Nacional* (2001). Parot's project was the result of her commitment to political journalism and, in no small way, contributed to the plaque initiative. Billed as the "first journalistic investigation that submits an exact chronology of the [stadium] events [of 1973], and an exhaustive compilation of historic archive material,"[209] Parot conducted more than thirty *in situ* interviews with former stadium prisoners, family members, and witnesses, compiled film footage and photographs from different archives in Santiago, and video-recorded the rediscovery of wall-etchings left by prisoners in 1973. As Parot's informants returned to the stadium—many for the first time since 1973—to offer testimony later used in the documentary, the absence of a memorial plaque was apparent.[210] Parot later explained her position in a letter to Chile's sub-secretary of sports, Arturo Jalah:

> As part of this [documentary work] I want to include the installment of a remembrance plaque in memory of the victims of the National Stadium. I want to

[209] *Estadio Nacional*, 2001
[210] Carmen Luz Parot interview with autor, March, 2012; see also *Estadio Nacional*

> remember that through this place more than 12 [sic] thousand people passed, a great part of them who were tortured and more than thirty who lost their lives. The truth is that it is very sad that in this place there doesn't exist a single symbol that remembers these painful facts. Each one of those prisoners that I have interviewed helped me realize this.[211]

Jalah never responded to Parot's insistence to install a remembrance plaque. But the urgency of the initiative and the inertia of the mobilized citizens around the memory of the concentration camp was pushed by AFDD leaders Garcia and Flor Hernandez. Chilean minister Claudio Huepe, moreover, applied his tacit support by attending the plaque event, as did others who had participated in Parot's documentary.[212]

Parot's *Estadio Nacional* helped mobilize stakeholders around the stadium-as-concentration camp at a crucial moment, ultimately resulting in the installation of the plaque with the backing from influential human rights activists and organizations and off-the-record approval by committed politicians.[213] *Estadio Nacional* helped give expression to other memory activists and initiatives at the stadium in those years as it interlocked with their work. It featured former women prisoners, prominent journalists, popular professors, current and former politicians; Ximena Nacimiento and Nuria Nuñez, Adolfo Cozzi and Fernando Villagran, Felipe Aguero and Sergio Muñoz, Avila and Sota, respectively. Moreover, its wide-dissemination and critical acclaim helped publicly disseminate the story of the stadium-as-concentration camp nearly thirty years after the facts. Marcelo Rodríguez and Claudia Woywood, the two architects later charged with technical designs for the national monument

[211] Letter to Arturo Salah from Parot and Soledad Silva, undated

[212] Claudio Huepe was a Christian Democrat politician and former ambassador to Venezuela who denounced the coup. He lived in exile between 1975 and 1984. He returned to political life and helped form the *Concertación* bloc. In 1997 he was named the Undersecretary at the Ministry General Secretariat. In 2000, newly elected president Ricardo Lagos named Huepe Minister Secretary General as the spokesman for the government. He died in 2009.

[213] The supporting politicians present at the plaque ceremony did not endorse the installation in an official capacity but, instead, as private citizens.

petition, had the privilege to view the documentary before its release date in 2001. Though the two did not participate in Parot's project, they soon joined the initiative to petition the stadium as a national monument. Rodríguez later admitted that "Carmen Luz's work was fundamental to our collaboration."[214] Along with wide-dissemination and its ability to mobilize stakeholders, Parot's project proved to be important historic work in its own right. Parot produced a powerful narrative for public consumption. Stern recognized that "Parot used survivor testimonies effectively. Stories of prisoner solidarity and moments of humor built an aesthetic of counterpoint that rendered maltreatment and torture all the more horrifying, without having to depict the cruelty graphically. The film thereby invited viewers to connect with the human story, rather than succumb to repression."[215]

Parot's piece of political journalism connected closely to the history of Charles Horman and the judiciary's investigation of it, the next singularly significant memory irruption at the stadium. The documentary featured Charles Horman's widow, Joyce. Horman was the young U.S. citizen supposedly killed inside the stadium in 1973. In the intensified memory climate of 2000 Judge Guzmán—who had first indicted Pinochet immediately after returning to Chile from his London arrest—accepted Horman's disappearance and death for investigatiuon. Not only did the case prompt the first official judicial investigation into the crimes committed inside the stadium but it climaxed with an *in situ* reconstruction of the stadium-as-concentration camp over four days in May, 2002. According to media and memory scholar Kristin Sorensen, Guzmán

> requested key witnesses… to come with him to the National Stadium to reenact what they saw during the days when Horman was believed to be there. On the evening

[214] Marcelo Rodríguez interview with author, June, 2012. Transcripts and recording in possession of author.
[215] Stern, Vol. III, 318

> news, excerpts of former prisoners' testimony were included along with clips of the Hollywood movie about Charles Horman *Missing*. A story that had been silenced since the early 1990s… the systematic detention, tortures, and executions of thousands of Chileans… suddenly re-emerged in the nation's consciousness, filtered through the framing of the Charles Horman case.[216]

The intense, continuous, and by-then internationally recognized search for the truth about Charles Horman—which had begun the day of his disappearance in 1973—had serious effects nearly three decades later. Its judicial ramifications contributed significantly to the continued popular and media attention at the stadium between 1998 and 2003 and further mobilized grassroots activists associated with dissident memory camps. As with Parot's documentary, Guzman's judicial investigation helped organize the occurrences of 1973 and bring together former prisoners, family members, and survivor-witnesses. Moreover, the overlap between the two was apparent and intentional. Former prisoners Cozzi, Aguero, Sota, and others participated both in Parot's documentary and Guzmán's judicial investigation. Parot, moreover, returned to the stadium to record Guzmán's reconstruction of the concentration camp in May, 2002, adding this footage to an update release of *Estadio Nacional* in 2003.

These two interlocking irruptions further merged with other commemorations at the stadium between 1998 and 2003. Parot's journalistic work and Guzmán's judicial investigation at/of the stadium-as-concentration camp came together at a critical moment and helped mobilize key stake-holders around the memory of it. With "The approach to the thirty-year anniversary… Grassroots actors and judges were creating new realities and claims, even as memory remained divisive yet relevant for the politicocultural legitimacy,"

[216] Kristin Sorensen, "Mediated discourses of Chilean national (hi)stories," undated. See also, Sorenen's *Media, Memory, and Human Rights in Chile* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)

noted Stern.[217] The stadium became an important battle ground for these realities and claims—and human stories. Between the *irruptions of memory* generated by Parot and Guzmán hundreds of hands mobilized around the memory and history-making of the stadium-as-concentration camp. Sometimes united together, other times less so, former prisoners, human rights activists, and committed professionals and politicians came together with the deliberate aim to memorialize the stadium because of its ill-fated role in 1973. Outside of the *in situ* projects and investigations, the annual *velatones* continued each September 11, memorial music concerts to Salvador Allende were held both in 1998 and 2003 at the site, important memoirs such as Adolfo Cozzi's *Estadio Nacional* (2000)—in which he read passages in Parot's *Estadio Nacional*—and Jorge Montealegre's *Frazadas del Estadio Nacion*al (2003) were penned, and at the quasi-authorized ceremony in 2001 activists gathered at the stadium to cement the first memorial plaque to the victims of 1973 on an exterior stadium wall. Though Cozzi lamented on October 8, 2000 that "People don't have the slightest idea of what happened in the stadium"[218] that would change: by September 11, 2003 the National Stadium was declared a National Monument and slated for a human rights museum to interpret the concentration camp of 1973. So intense was the mobilization around the memory of the concentration camp that the hundreds of hands that united to push for its protection and recognition as a national monument would ultimately divide—continuing the memory drama that began in 1973.

Carmen Luz Parot and the National Stadium's First Memorial Markings

Carmen Luz Parot silently tracked the former MAPU militant Eduardo Hernández with her camera while he retraced his 1973 steps as a prisoner in 2000 as a participant in the

[217] Stern, Vol. II, 283
[218] "La gente no sabe qué pasó en el Estadio Nacional el '73," La Nación, October 8, 2000

production of *Estadio Nacional*. Responding to Parot's request, Hernández had returned to the stadium to offer his testimony for the project.[219] In the documentary, he explained his circumstances as a young man suddenly imprisoned in one of the stadium's eight *escotillas*—the large passageways-turned-cells that connected the stadium's playing field to its bowels. Seemingly without pretext, Hernández drew to a wall mid-testimony and indicated with his finger barely visible marks, inscriptions that the prisoners had left in 1973 using rocks, coins, and belt buckles. Hernández declared, "Here it says J.C.T.S., 16 September 73…and… here, J.S.S. 18 September 73… [these] are a piece of history."[220] A closer inspection of the walls by Parot's camera revealed dozens of inscriptions left by prisoners. The rediscovery of the inscriptions, activists would argue, justified in the first place a memorial plaque, followed later by demands of a national monument designation which protected the inscriptions from erasure.

As Parot's memory project *Estadio Nacional* touched off a movement to preserve prisoners' inscriptions, install a memorial plaque, and petition for national monument status, it also contributed to the mobilization of stakeholders around the memory of the stadium-as-concentration camp at a crucial moment in Chile's transitioning democracy. Though Parot's journalistic work spawned interest to install a memorial plaque, the ceremony that cemented it was the result of a collective effort. Parot wrote to Minister Huepe of her desire to install the plaque. She insisted, "I want to make clear that my petition is not individual. It comes supported by more than 50 former prisoners and by the AFDD, who have agreed to write the

[219] The Popular Unity Action Movement was a left political party which had splintered from the more moderate center-left Christian Democrat party in 1969.

[220] Activists later responsible for the stadium's 2003 national monument declaration pointed to this moment as critical to mobilize to protect the stadium. Historian Alejandra Lopéz claimed that this act inspired the initial meetings between the National Stadium Committee.

plaque's text." She continued that the plaque's installment would come under the broader blanket of the "activities of the Caravan of Life and Justice… As such, this action will acquire a character greater than that of the [plaque] convocation and the people involved."[221] After the plaque's installation and the release of Parot's documentary to the general public, organizing members and former prisoners began to collaborate for a more permanent measure of protection. Under the political leadership of freshmen Congresswomen Carolina Tohá, activists established the National Stadium Committee, a nine-member group charged with the national monument petition and plans for a human rights museum at the stadium.[222] As stakeholders mobilized around the project, public consciousness of the stadium-as-concentration camp grew. One citizen wrote the Council of National Monuments, the state agency charged with the stewardship of Chilean patrimony, from the southern city of Concepción.

> I have just heard the news that the National Stadium is being petitioned as a national monument; I hope this initiative is well received, as this country has suffered constantly from forgetting. We don't conserve the things that form the history of the country, whether good or bad, but which is ours… I have seen with the passing of the years that nothing remains the same as when I was a child, there is no history, only in the mind and in photos of remembrance. Let's not allow the icons to be only a story for future generations, something they can see in a video or a photo, but so they can see it, feel it, touch it.[223]

In this way, the ripple effect of Parot's documentary revolved around the tangibility of place, something that Chileans could see, feel, and touch. Prisoner testimonies that connected viewers to human stories also connected memories to place. Alberto 'Gato' Gamboa, who featured prominently in *Estadio Nacional*, could be seen in the documentary giving

[221] Parot's letter to Minster Hueppe. Letter in author's personal archive; Caravan of Life and Justice was a series of commemorative activities led by human rights lawyer Hugo Gutiérrez.
[222] See Tohá and the National Stadium Committee in Chapter 5
[223] E-mail message from Sandra Valenzuela Repiso to the Council of National Monuments, August 19, 2003. Letter archived at the Council of National Monuments.

testimony in various areas of the National Stadium: the soccer field, a bathroom where he witnessed in an impromptu Catholic mass, and the locker rooms where had been incarcerated. But when he returned to the *velódromo*—where he had been tortured on seven different occasions—a visibly shaken and teary-eyed Gamboa allowed, "For the first time in this interview… I feel something different."[224]

Estadio Nacional represented significant historical work. Parot video-recorded new testimonies from former prisoners, compiled uncovered audio-visual archival material, and presented to the public a moving historical narrative of the stadium-as-concentration camp. Parot's own story also characterized the mobilization of civil society at the stadium between 1998 and 2003. Parot, a member of the generation of the 1980s—those who had not yet been born or were very young at the time of the coup and grew up under the shadow of dictatorship, lived within two miles of the stadium. In democracy, she had observed and participated in the popular *velatones* at the stadium not far from her home. She had also worked briefly for *El Mercurio* and became frustrated because

> During the dictatorship we would read newspapers that misinformed us. Today it is the same. There are important facts that appear in the media only one time, as token coverage, and never again. In regards to the past, things become forgotten, time passes. There are emblematic cases, such as the wife of Charles Horman, the young North American killed in the National Stadium. 30 years have passed and still his widow knows nothing.[225]

Before *Estadio* Nacional, Parot had completed her first documentary in 1999 about the Chilean folk singer Victor Jara, *The Right to Live in Peace*. During this time she followed the stories of the National Stadium and Chile Stadium—where the well-known Jara was plucked from a line of prisoners awaiting transfer to the National Stadium on September 16,

[224] Alberto Gamboa in *Estadio Nacional* (Parot)
[225] Sergio Villegas interview and article with Carmen Luz Parot, "El lugar del crimen," undated. Transcipts archived at the Council of National Monuments.

1973.[226] He was executed soon after in the basement locker rooms of Chile Stadium. It occurred to Parot that "something so terrible wasn't the object of a single TV documentary and there wasn't talk about a judicial investigation. Nothing, it was as if the issue didn't exist."[227]

Parot's proximity to the National Stadium and participation in the annual *velatones*, commitment to political journalism, and frustration with official and media accounts poised her to embark on *Estadio Nacional* and, later, push for the bronze plaque. Her attempts to publicize *Estadio Nacional*, moreover, met opposition and reflected the documentary's impact in well-traveled places. As part of the documentary project, Parot and producer Soledad Silva distributed *Estadio Nacional* posters to Metro Informe—a free of charge "space to disseminate diverse artistic, cultural, and academic activities… for the general public" in the form of posters, promotional brochures, and artistic advertising inside Santiago Metro's labyrinth of stations. Parot and Silva navigated the proper channels in order to promote the documentary through Metro Informe. According to Silva, "I personally delivered the petition to Ms. Adriana Celis Olate, from Metro marketing. After reading it and asking me for a [documentary] poster she agreed to display them in the next month of December." Silva subsequently handed over thirty-five *Estadio Nacional* posters to be displayed. However, Celis contacted Silva in December to say that Metro S.A. would not be putting up the advertising posters in the Metro stations. The reasoning: "they have political content" and "they can be counterproductive for the users of the Metro." Parot interpreted

[226] Chile Stadium also served as a concentration immediately after the coup. Its 5,000 seat capacity was quickly filled beyond capacity—with many coming from the State Technical University (UTE), including Jara—and prisoner overflow was directed towards the National Stadium. Today, the former Chile Stadium is now named Victor Jara Stadium. It was declared a National Monument in 2004. It is not currently in use.
[227] Villegas-Parot interview.

this rebuttal as an explicit attempt at censorship on behalf of the public company (*empresa pública*) Metro. Though Parot had received partial funding and a green light from Chile's FondArt to complete her project, the red-light from Santiago Metro raised red flags for the film-maker. "The situation is grave," Parot insisted, "[when] the state agency of the Metro transport censures the hanging of 35 posters of the *Estadio Nacional* documentary," especially since the agency never once asked to view the documentary's contents.[228]

The potential public impact of the *Estadio Nacional* posters in Santiago's metro—a main mode of transport for hundreds of thousands of daily commuters—also spilled over into the private realm. Apart from winning awards in Cuba, Argentina, Mexico, Spain, France, Greece, the United States, and Chile, *Estadio Nacional*'s impact reached an anonymous national viewer. Shortly after Parot won at the prestigious Film Festival in Cuba with her documentary, she received a phone call from a woman who did not want to identify herself but had something to share about the stadium. Parot inquired, "Is it about the good [things] or the bad [things]?" The woman replied, "The bad." According to Parot, the woman had watched *Estadio Nacional* with her father, a former military official who had been moved to tears during the viewing. The woman implored of her father the validity of Parot's documentary. The father corroborated for the daughter Parot's evidence, including that as part of his military training he had been forced with other soldiers into a sewer without food or water so they would learn the conditions of the prisoners—and then they "sent them to torture."[229] The father's revelation to his daughter, and the daughter's to Parot, revealed the

[228] Parot and Silva quoted in "La libertad de expresion Durante el 2001 Chile, December 7, 2001." This is an annual report published by the College of Journalism at the University of Chile.
[229] Villegas-Parot interview.

emotional impact that the documentary imparted across generations and socio-politico divides, as it validated the documentary's historic claims.

By 2003, Parot's *Estadio Nacional* had triggered a chain of memory irruptions at the stadium and about the stadium. The documentary was an integral link in the events that helped define the stadium's public history beginning with Pinochet's arrest in 1998. During its making and at the time of its release, it represented an irruption with far-reaching echoes. Viewers at home and abroad connected to the human stories of the concentration camp. Parot's narrative synthesized shared experiences of prisoners and emblematic events of the stadium-as-concentration camp. In many ways, *Estadio Nacional* mirrored in a much more digestible way earlier written testimonies of prisoners and offered a measured, if not emotive, presentation of historical evidence, footage, and media coverage from 1973. It also gave expression to other stakeholders interested in making public then silenced stories of 1973. When former prisoners returned to the stadium the notable absence of a memorial marker inspired them to act. The journalist Sergio Villegas (Chap. 3), who interviewed stadium prisoners in 1973 to produce his 1974 publication *El Estadio*, returned to the stadium through the documentary, interviewing Parot for the daily *Punta Final*. He allowed, "An important part of the film… is the visit to the sporting site [*campo de deportes*] by a number of people [*numerosas personas*] that told what they saw and suffered there as prisoners." These included former stadium prisoners and family members, ex-army officials and Red Cross nurses, priests and politicians, *pobladores* and journalists. The power and permanence of place offered a special dynamic for the citizenry. Not only did it reveal tangible evidence in the form of prisoners' wall-etchings. But it also brought back the sights, smells, and sensations of the concentration camp. Cozzi quipped "A person recognizes places, relives

moments and perceives smells, sounds, and one returns to the old movie through an association of ideas. It feels the same as it felt when one was there in that situation."[230] Judge Guzmán would echo similar sentiments as he contributed the next significant interlocking historical event at the stadium.

The Journalist and the Judge: The Unlikely Story of Charles Horman and Juan Guzmán Tapia

Charles Horman and Juan Guzmán Tapia never met. Horman was a Harvard educated idealist who arrived in Chile in 1972 and sympathized with Allende's socialist project. Guzmán had studied law at Chile's conservative Catholic University, and did not. Where the former befriended Chilean and foreign leftists as a freelance journalist, the latter admitted "My friends… militated in the movements associated with the students of the Catholic right. They attacked the leader of the united left, a doctor named Salvador Allende."[231] However, nearly three decades later, Horman and Guzmán would become linked at the National Stadium, the latter investigating the death of the former at the symbolic site. The unlikely encounter between the two international personalities at the National Stadium triggered another massive irruption of memory—and many aftershocks, eventually culminating with an *in situ* reconstruction of the concentration camp in May, 2002. The Chilean magistrate's investigation into the North American's disappearance, detention, and death not only signaled the first judicial investigation into the crimes committed at the stadium in 1973. But, like Parot's *Estadio Nacional*, it also reunited former prisoners and witnesses, stirred up intense emotions about the memory of the stadium-as-concentration

[230] "La gente no sabe qué pasó en el Estadio Nacional el '73," La Nación, October 8, 2000
[231] Juan Guzmán Tapia, *En el borde del mundo: memorias del juez que procesó a Pinochet*, (Barcelona: Anagrama, 2005), 38

camp, and interlocked with other commemorative acts and activists at the stadium between 1998 and 2003.

The arrest and execution of Charles Horman in 1973 and the suspicion that he was imprisoned and killed inside the National Stadium with the knowledge of United States' officials became a boon for memory advocates in the crucial years leading up to the thirty-year mark of the military coup. In the nearly three decades since Charles's disappearance, the search for truth about the American's death moved through a series of twists and turns. It started with a family's tireless crusade which began the day after Charles's disappearance, followed by a civil suit filed against Henry Kissinger and other high-ranking U.S. politicians and diplomats in 1976, Thomas Hauser's book in 1978 and Costa-Gavras's movie in 1981, the 1991 Rettig Report, and numerous media reports and references around the world.[232] By the time Pinochet was arrested in 1998, Horman was recognized as one of Pinochet's most famous victims; the stadium was recognized as one of Pinochet's most famous symbols of human rights violations. As a result of Pinochet's arrest in 1998, Horman's family members and allies inside of the U.S.—backed by a handful of congressmen—pressured President Bill Clinton to release secret documents pertaining to the Allende government, Pinochet dictatorship, and the Unites States' relations with both. In a trove released over three years, Clinton's Chile Declassification Project turned over "24,000 never-before-seen documents—the largest discretionary executive branch release of records on any country or foreign policy issue."[233] According to the *New York Times*' take on the release, "It is now clear that the

[232] Added to this, the Charles Horman story had been continually carried in notable newspapers and magazines such as the New York Times and People, countless interviews by human rights activists and testimonies of the coup's witness-survivors, and many private and public justice seeking initiatives and investigations, including the Charles Horman Truth Project Foundation, partly funded by the Ford Foundation.
[233] Kornbluh, xvii

American government knew far more about the disappearance and murder of two American citizens [Horman and Terrugi]… [whose] deaths were dramatized—and American complicity strongly implied—in the 1982 [sic] movie 'Missing.'"[234] Armed with this newly available evidence, Horman's widow, Joyce, returned to Chile to zero in on the increasingly vulnerable Pinochet.

On December 7, 2000, represented by the lawyer Fabiola Letelier, Joyce Horman filed Case Number 218298 in Santiago's Court of Appeals, where it was promptly accepted by Guzmán as the fifty-fourth "human rights case" against Pinochet. By the time Guzmán began this landmark investigation late in 2000, he had already gained national and international appeal, repute, and interest for his legal crusade against Pinochet. Despite conservative sympathies, class ties, and a successful legal career during the dictatorship, in democracy Guzmán converted to a "star judge" who "determined to apply the law without regard to status of the accused or the surrounding political pressure."[235] On January 12, 1998, some ten months before Pinochet's arrest in London, Guzmán famously had taken responsibility for the first human rights case that indicted Pinochet inside of Chile when the prominent communist leader Gladys Marín Millie successfully brought charges in Guzmán's court against the former strongman, linking him to the sequestration and assassination of "members of the clandestine leadership of the Communist Party in 1976," including Marín's husband Jorge Munoz.[236] Guzmán explained, "The press's attention focused on me after I accepted the criminal complaint… The magazines, the popular press, the television, the

[234] The New York Times, "The Truth About Chile," February 15, 2000; For a full accounting, see Peter Kornbluh's *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier of Atrocity and Accountability* (The New Press, 2003)
[235] Stern, Vol. II, 248; See also Elizabeth Farnsworth's documentary *The Judge and the General* (2008) for Guzmán's dramatic personal change and professional ethics.
[236] Guzmán, 136

radio: everything that related to the media directed at the entire public, started to become interested in Judge Guzmán, and soon after the international press."[237]

The fallout from Pinochet's arrest in London—commonly referred to as the *Pinochet Effect*—meant that tyrants could no longer travel freely outside their respective countries, while as Steve Stern observed, "[Pinochet's] London detention accelerated the legal cascade inside of Chile, and reinforced the impossibility of stopping it."[238] Pinochet's international arrest and how it reverberated domestically set the stage for the continued and reinvigorated search for truth and justice about Charles Horman. This time, though, it had cracked the Chilean judiciary and prompted the first official investigation into the crimes committed inside the stadium in 1973. The investigation climaxed when Guzmán reconstructed, *in situ*, the circumstances of the concentration camp on May 14, 15, 22, and 24, 2002. The judge had brought together (and subpoenaed) an extraordinary cast for the case, including former stadium camp commander Col. Jorge Espinoza, the filmmaker Costa-Gavras, former U.S. Consul Frederick Purdy, Adam Schesch and Patricia Garrett, the historian Steve Volk who had identified Charles's body in the morgue in 1973, and scores of former Chilean prisoners and officials. Upon returning to the stadium with many of these informants, the daily *La Cuarta* reported that "it was as if it were the filming of a movie; the investigative magistrate Juan Guzmán Tapia as director; the witnesses and survivors as protagonists; and the special use of the students from the Police School of Investigations (PDI) as extras; the

[237] Guzmán, 172
[238] Stern, Vol. II, 248

reconstructions of the of the scene of reclusion of the North American journalist Charles Horman was realized."[239]

Guzmán's investigation into Horman's detention and death, paralleling his other judicial investigations and legal training, was rooted in place. For Guzmán, the reconstruction of the concentration camp at the National Stadium was pragmatic as much as emblematic. The magistrate explained,

> Before anything, the most important proof in Chilean [legal] procedure is the reconstruction of the scene, [it] receives and perceives the testimonial declarations [of witnesses] and the personal introspection of the judge… [it] is the most credible way for an investigative judge [to know] the truth of an event… when one interrogates a person in the place where the events occurred it is easier to perceive truthfulness.[240]

The *in situ* reconstruction of the stadium-as-concentration camp helped Guzmán corroborate witness testimony. In one instance he tested former soldiers' accounts that "it was impossible to hear gunfire"—or presumed executions—from their position beneath the stadium stands. During the reconstruction, Guzmán listened to live gunfire from the soldiers' 1973 positions. As shots echoed beneath the stadium's stands, he concluded "In this occasion… I proved the [soldiers'] testimony was a lie." The *in situ* reconstruction also did something else for judge. Apart from the practical part of corroborating witness testimony against measurable evidence, Guzmán also recognized that "the reconstruction of the scene is very important to any investigation… [because] emotions, sensations, the mood of the people are repeated."[241] Guzmán measured the emotions, sensations, and moods of over twenty witness-survivors during the reconstruction, asking them a range of questions that included what they ate, where they slept, and the more macabre: where did the torture happen?

[239] La Cuarta, "Juez Guzmán dirgió reconsitución del caso que inspira 'Missing,'" May 15, 2002
[240] Juan Guzmán nterview with author, June 2013. Recording in possession of author.
[241] Chile Vive/Reuters, "Chile revive su partido con la muerte," May 16, 2002

Figure 3. Guzmán reconstructing the camp of 1973. La Nación.

The reconstruction of the concentration camp and the return to the stadium also affected Guzmán in a personal way. He explained, "I had known people that were there… for two or three days… and the environment [they told me] was very difficult, disagreeable… but they didn't tell me about the tortures. But when I went with the witnesses [to the stadium] I realized that there were tortures, disappearances, and executions of people."[242] This revelation by Guzmán, a conceivably well-informed citizen and successful lawyer, reflected the reality of a vast majority of Chileans: the recognition of a detention center at the stadium but lack of knowledge of what actually occurred. It also revealed that survivor witnesses who may not have been willing to testify in other scenarios were spurred to do so by returning to the stadium. As former stadium prisoners' and witnesses returned to the stadium with Guzmán, the more the magistrate learned. "I knew the stadium was emblematic," conceded Guzmán to me, "but it is especially so because it is so horrific."

[242] Juan Guzmán interview with author, June 2013

The mixture of memory, emotions, and irruptions that surrounded Guzmán's reconstruction of the concentration camp strengthened the links between the popular-civic and official-legal memory initiatives during these years, while Guzmán judicially interrogated previously published information about the concentration camp. To complement his return to the scene of the crime, Guzmán gathered information about the stadium-as-concentration camp from distinct sources, including Hauser's book and Costa-Gavras's movie. In one instance, On July 12, 2002, Guzmán summoned Joyce Horman to view *Missing* in order to verify it against Hauser's work and her own recollections. In the minutes from that encounter, Joyce Horman relayed to the court the inconsistencies between book, movie, and her memory of the events, though she had confirmed two months prior at a 20th anniversary event for *Missing* at Studio 54 in New York, "[*Missing*] played a very important role in raising international consciousness about the wrongness of human rights crimes."[243] According to Guzmán, the book and movie "served me well," while Guzmán's personal ties with the movie's director, Costa-Gavras, added another twist to the investigation.[244] "I had to conduct the *sumario abierto* (open case) about the sequestration and death of this young man [Horman]. I took the testimony of his wife, of his

[243] The New York Times, "Public Lives: The Mission of a Sept. 11 Widow (Sept. 11, 1973)" April 23, 2002, p.B2

[244] In 1972, Costa-Gavras had been in Chile to shoot his French-language film *Etat de Siege*, or *State of Seige.* This politically charged film depicted the sequestration by Uruguay's urban leftist, guerrilla group, the *Tupamaros*, of U.S. citizen Dan Matrione. Costa-Gavras's movie charged Matrione as being a secret U.S. agent who worked under the auspices of a humanitarian worker for US AID. In an effort to expose United States' policy of subversion in Latin American countries, the filmmaker found favorable conditions in Allende's Chile to do so. In Chile, Costa-Gavras looked for French speakers to fulfill the role of foreign journalists for the film. Guzmán and his spouse Inés, a French national, answered the call and were subsequently cast as French journalists in *State of Seige*. Ironically, despite the fact that "the experience continues being a great memory for us," Guzmán didn't see the film until 30 years later. *State of Seige*—like *Missing* later—was censured during Pinochet's dictatorship.

acquaintances, of witnesses who has seen his arrest," the magistrate explained, "And it appeared important to me to know what the filmmaker could tell me about this episode."[245]

Guzmán's investigation combined the present day moods and sensations of the stadium with past historical work and prisoners. Like Parot, Guzmán mobilized new and old stakeholders who bridged memory irruptions, initiatives, and news at the stadium. One of the was Felipe Aguero, who had been tortured at the stadium as a student studying at Chile's prestigious Catholic University. Shortly after Guzmán accepted the Horman case, Aguero, then a professor of political science at Duke University, wrote in a letter to his former university that one of its most preeminent professors, political scientist Emilio Meneses, was part of the team that tortured him at the stadium. The charge prompted a highly publicized affair, with much of it centered on the circumstances of Meneses's whereabouts and duties for three weeks at the stadium as a navy reservist in 1973. Meneses vigorously denied being present at Aguero's torture session and committed to knowing nothing of torture at the stadium, while Aguero insisted "The stadium was a place where people were tortured and killed. And I want the discussion of what happened there to resume for the benefit of the historic record."[246] As a result of his charge against Meneses, Aguero agreed to participate in Parot's documentary and Guzmán's reconstruction of the concentration camp.

Guzmán's remarkable *in situ* reconstruction of the stadium-as-concentration camp specifically and the Horman case more generally interacted with with the momentum of memory irruptions and reactions at the stadium between 1998 and 2003. Though *El Mercurio* reported that the Horman case proved the "principal motor of the investigation of

[245] Guzmán, 206

[246] Aguero quoted in Michael Easterbrook's "Justice, Memory, and a Professor's Accusation," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, August 17, 2001; accessed at www.chronicle.com/world

what happened in Chile's main sporting complex,"[247] *La Nación* noted that "Guzmán also opened a particular line of investigation about the events of the National Stadium, given that some of the cases he is investigating apparently relate to this center of mass detention."[248] For activist Maxine Lowy, who "acted" the role of Schesch's spouse Patricia Garrett during the reconstruction of the concentration camp, "The procedure was the most important of its kind conducted on the premises of the National Stadium."[249] For *El Mercurio* reader Fernando Spencer Biggs, on the other hand, it caused consternation. "Mr. Director," the disillusioned citizen wrote to the paper, "After seeing Judge Guzmán reconstructing the events of an execution that happened on September 11, 1973, it wouldn't be strange to me to see, for example, the prosecution of the [military] pilots that bombed La Moneda (Presidential Palace).[250] Where Lowy lauded the efforts of Guzmán and followed the Horman case closely on her blog Memory and Justice, Biggs balked at Guzmán's judicial investigation, justifying the military's concentration camp by comparing it to the bombing of the presidential palace, a necessary order and act in a state of siege. Amid these competing claims, it was clear that Horman's supposed execution in the stadium in 1973 came back to haunt those opposed to remembering the crimes in the stadium, aid investigations concerning them, and inspire victims and family members who suffered there in the years between Pinochet's arrest and the thirty-year mark of the military coup. Guzmán's inquiry into Horman's death did not only help mobilize new and old stakeholders around the first judicial investigation of the crimes committed at the stadium but it also merged with and helped to legitimize popular and less publicized attention to the stadium. While Guzmán proceeded

[247] *El Mercurio*, "Juez va más allá del 'caso Horman,'" May 16, 2002
[248] *La Nación*, "Juez Guzmán interroga hoy a ex jefe del Estadio Nacional," May 24, 2002
[249] Maxine Lowy, Memory and Justice Blog, http://www.memoriayjusticia.cl/english/en_focus-horman.html, accessed January, 2012
[250] *El Mercurio*, May 19, 2002, A2

with legal formalities next to an *in situ* reconstruction of the camp, members from civil society—some of which testified before Guzmán—appealed for memorial plaques and petitions to preserve the stadium as a national monument. In the meantime, hundreds of historical hands continued to gather at the stadium and mobilize around the memory of the concentration camp, writing a significant chapter in the stadium's public history: remembering to remember—or conscious acts of memory making—between 1998 and 2003.

Hundreds of Historical Hands and the Inertia of Memory Projects

Shortly after Joyce Horman filed the criminal complaint against Augusto Pinochet on December 7, 2000, she and dozens of others gathered at the National Stadium as the summer sun began to set opposite of the Andes. At a commemorative event described by activist Lowy as a "cleansing of the stadium,"[251] Joyce took a megaphone adorned with a sticker that read "Judgment for Pinochet" in one hand and spoke in broken but unequivocal Spanish to the audience. "I believe this is a group of heroes… heroes of the millennium, and they are us," she motioned with her free hand towards the notorious *velódromo*, "Because this cannot happen again in another place." Letelier also assumed the microphone, insisting that "Joyce began to activate this denouncement [of crimes against humanity]… and has maintained it all of these years." In many ways, Joyce's quest mirrored that of her Chilean counterparts who, similar to Joyce in 1973, began the search for missing loved ones at the National Stadium. Joyce's group of heroes, however, wasn't exclusive to relatives of the politically executed and detained-disappeared. Appearing alongside these activists—famously recognizable for the pictures of their relatives pinned to their lapels—were other heroes that had come to cleanse the stadium. Accompanied by musicians and a Catholic priest who used holy water

[251] Maxine Lowy interview with author, January, 2012. Notes in possession of author.

to anoint the *velódromo*, stadium stakeholders included Parot (who filmed the event), the moblized memorialists Cozzi and Montealegre, and Argentine Olga Reynosa who "appeal[ed] to the memory of Chileans for any type of information" about her detained-disappeared loved one.

A month before the cleansing ceremony at the stadium, Letelier had spoken about the "diverse aspects of the judicial fight open to punish (*castigar*) human rights violations" at a meeting convened by former prisoners of the National Stadium and Chacabuco.[252] Chief among these former prisoners were Mariano Requena and Manuel Cabiese. Veterans of both the National Stadium and Chacabuco, they used their prominent positions to also push for "alternatives in the recovery of the historic memory of human violations committed by the Pinochet dictatorship."[253] Cabiese was a prominent journalist who had recently published his stadium experiences satirically as *Dibujos de un humanoid*; Requena served under Allende as Minister of Health. During the luncheon Requena announced the formation of the Association of ex-Prisoners of Concentration Camps, a national group comprised of survivors from the camps at Chacabuco, Pisagua, Dawson Island, Puchuncaví, Ritoque, Melinka, Tres y Cuatro Alamos, Quiriquina, Chile Stadium, and National Stadium, among others. Foreshadowing the unification around Parot's plaque initiative, one alternative idea of the new organization involved installing memorial plaques at toxic sites. Others ideas included establishing relations with existing groups of former prisoners from around the country and collaborating on memory projects.[254]

[252] When the Campo de detenidos de Estadio Nacional ceased operation on November 8, 1973, the majority of the remaining prisoners were transferred to Chacabuco, a concentration camp in Chile's northern desert.
[253] Punto Final, "El Olvido No Existe," November 18, 2000
[254] Punto Final, "El Olvido No Existe," November 18, 2000

At both the stadium cleansing and the meeting convened by former stadium prisoners, the journalist Cozzi offered his support. In a certain way, Cozzi personified the interlocking historical work and commemorative events at the stadium between 1998 and 2003. As a nineteen year-old university student, Cozzi had been arrested, taken to the stadium, and tortured. In 2000, he had come public with his story in *Estadio Nacional*, the first testimonial of the stadium-as-concentration camp in democracy. Until then Cozzi had been ashamed of telling about his experience but was finally pushed to the brink at the birthday party of his nineteen year-old niece. "I said to myself, 'What would happen to my niece if at this age the same thing happened to her as it happened to me," the journalist explained, "I discovered the point of view that I had lacked because there were things that I wouldn't dare say to do to modesty."[255] Writing *Estadio Nacional*, Cozzi mixed with the inertia of memory initiatives at the stadium. As a collaborator in Parot's documentary, for example, he told stories of a conscript who snuck fruit to the prisoners and how the prisoners imagined they were watching soccer matches from the stadium's stands while incarcerated. He attended the cleansing ceremony and installation of the memorial plaque. In 2002, he returned to the *velódromo* with Judge Guzmán to testify of the torture he received. His memoir remains a significant piece of the literature of the stadium-as-concentration camp and evidence of historical work at a crucial moment in the life of the stadium's public history.

The Stadium Struggle at Thirty Years

Cozzi's *Estadio Nacional*, Parot's *Estadio Nacional*, Joyce Horman's march for truth and justice, the stadium-as-concentration camp's first memorial plaque, Guzmán's *in situ* reconstruction of the 1973 conditions, the newly established Association of ex-Prisoners of

[255] La Nación, "La gente no sabe qué pasó en el Estadio Nacional el '73," October 8, 2000

Concentration Camps and smaller—even private—irruptions of memory at the stadium mobilized hundreds of hands around the memory work at the stadium between 1998 and 2003. The historian Peter Winn wrote soon after September 11, 2003 that "Like a lightning bolt that illuminated a darkened landscape, attracting every one's attention, the recent commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the military coup of 9-11-73 has compelled Chileans to confront a traumatic history that many had preferred to ignore or 'forget.'"[256] The major and minor irruptions of memory at the stadium specifically and throughout Chile more generally clashed with others leading up to 2003. In a public ceremony on September 11 of that year Pinochet handed over his presidential sash to the newly established and privately funded Pinochet Foundation and Museum. At the same time, then President Ricardo Lagos established his program of There is No Tomorrow without Yesterday—to criticism and acclaim—to coincide with the thirty-year anniversary of the coup. Among other symbolic steps, the program convened the most comprehensive commission the world had seen of a state torturing its citizenry: The National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture. Lagos's program also offered economic support for the controversial Salvador Allende statue, re-opened Morande 80 (the side door of the presidential palace where Allende's lifeless body had been removed), and signed into law the National Stadium as national monument on September 11, 2003, while just days before thousands of Chileans filled the National Stadium to celebrate Salvador Allende during a two day concert called "The Dream Lives."

In the five years leading up to the stadium's national monument designation, members from civil society mobilized around the memory of the concentration camp in the

[256] Peter Winn, "The Other 9/11: My Coup Diary," ReVista, Spring 2004, 48

prickly politocultural environment brought on by the fallout of Pinochet's arrest and the emblematic anniversaries of 1998 and 2003. As the two sides of Chile faced off, memory scholar Michael Lazarra noted "three detonating factors" lit by factions associated with Pinochet that played into the memory politics of the emblematic thirtieth anniversary. First, Congressman Pablo Longueira of the ultra-right political party, UDI (Independent Democratic Union) submitted a "Peace Now" proposal in which "He recommended, in the interest of national reconciliation, all pending court cases be closed, that the 1978 Amnesty Law be applied, and that the government make reasonable financial reparations to the families to help heal their wounds." Under this scheme, Pinochet (then twice indicted by Guzmán in other human rights cases), Col. Jorge Espinoza who commanded the *Campo de Detenidos de Estadio Nacional*, and other high-ranking officials responsible for human rights violations would enjoy legal immunity while victims' families would receive economic reparations already recommended by the Rettig Report. In a similar fashion, the second detonating factor came from then Army General Juan Emilio Cheyre who appropriated human rights language with his proposal of "Nunca Más"—Never Again—and appealed for an end to the "parade of military officials through the courts" and advocated "national reconciliation." Reconciliation as much as consensus was a watchword in which many had come to distrust as a way to close the chapter on the past and move forward without trust and justice. Finally, in this effort to placate the past and pave a way towards continued amnesty and impunity, eight former military generals from the Pinochet dictatorship submitted an open letter to the Chilean public that promised "renovated" ranks within the Chilean military. The generals neither took responsibility for the military's crimes of torture and disappearance nor offered an apology.[257] According to Lazarra, these claims to the past from Pinochet

[257] In 1998 human rights organizations, government officials, and military officers from the Pinochet period

apologists represented an "official history" in Chile's new democracy that disallowed the truth and justice advocated by advocates that opposed these factions.

Opposing the detonations lit by factions loyal to Pinochet, human rights activists, ordinary citizens, and motivated politicians embarked on a variety of memory and unofficial truth projects. Under broader calls for popular justice, these stake-holders amassed and organized human rights archival material, produced new testimonial accounts, and expanded the visibility of torture and the toxic places where it happened. They also referred to the still unfulfilled recommendations of the Rettig Report to push the state to take an explicit position regarding its commitment to the past, including that of "symbolic reparations." The Rettig Report's recommendation "to erect a remembrance monument (*monumento recordatorio*) that individualizes all of the human rights victims and fallen on either side, and construct a public park in memory of the victims and fallen, that serves as a place of commemoration and education (*ensenanza*), and also recreation and as a place of affirmation of a culture of life" echoed against Chile's vacant memorial landscape.

At the time of Pinochet's arrest in 1998, only a handful of memorials to his victims existed, dispersed throughout the country. The 1994 Memorial Wall to the Detained-Disappeared and Politically-Executed represented the only state-supported memorial. By 2003, President Lago's program of There is No Tomorrow without Yesterday had begun to answer civil society's call for public memorials, while the Valech report elaborated on the memorial recommendations contained in the Rettig Report. Published in 2004, it suggested "the declaration of the principal torture centers as national monuments and the creation of

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convened the Mesa de Dialogo in order to learn the fate of the detained-disappeared victims of the regime. It was marred and politicized by Pinochet's untimely arrest. Much of the information provided by the military about the victims' whereabouts proved to be false and misleading.

memorials and remembrance sites of the victims of human rights violations and political violence…the erecting of a remembrance monument in a center location in Santiago, as the capital of the country, that symbolizes this commitment." If, as sociologist Carolina Aguilera suggested, that the "great proliferation of memorial initiatives beginning in 2003" changed the "political process of memory in regards to the Chilean military dictatorship… on part of civil society as much as the state," then the groundwork in the years preceding 2003 in general and the mobilization around memory initiatives at the stadium more specifically defined and necessitated this change. Civil society's push against the state—and, moreover, Pinochet apologists—in regards to the stadium was on the leading edge of a new strategy to "identify, signal, recover, preserve, and open to the public" toxic sites from the Pinochet regime. The experiences at the stadium and a few select other toxic sites increased public visibility of toxic sites of torture and the "moral obligation" to memorialize them. Before 2003, only two toxic sites had been declared national monuments. The National Stadium became the third. A decade later, more than a dozen former toxic sites had been declared national monuments, while over two-hundred human rights memorials dotted the Chilean landscape.

Chapter V: A Shared Past, A Divergent Present, A Monument(al) Split

Alberto Gamboa. The National Stadium Committee. The Council of National Monuments. Memory and Human Rights. Committee movers, shakers, and politics. Application/Solicitud to Declare the Stadium a National Monument. Committee support, committee split. Chile Sports, another stakeholder. Two museums, one Master Plan. Official ambiguity. Missed opportunity. Authority and Exasperation.

In 2002, Alberto Gamboa walked nonchalantly one afternoon down the wide, walking avenues or *paseos* of downtown Santiago, shadowed by baroque buildings and shade trees. It was late in the year, summertime in the Southern Hemisphere, and the journalist and former editor of the now defunct communist newspaper *Clarín* (whose offices were invaded and occupied as a holding, transfer, and torture center by Pinochet's forces) searched for an espresso at a local café, Haití. Suddenly a young woman approached him, eager to give him important information. From her hand to his, she passed a handbill that read: A People Without Memory… Are a People without a Future. He continued reading the pinkish-hued pamphlet: Event for the Recovery of the National Stadium as an Historic Site, Tuesday, December 10th, International Human Rights Day, 19:30hrs; Convened by the Metropolitan Region of ex Political Prisoners (RMEPP); Supported by the National Assembly of Human Rights and the Congressional Deputy Carolina Tohá.

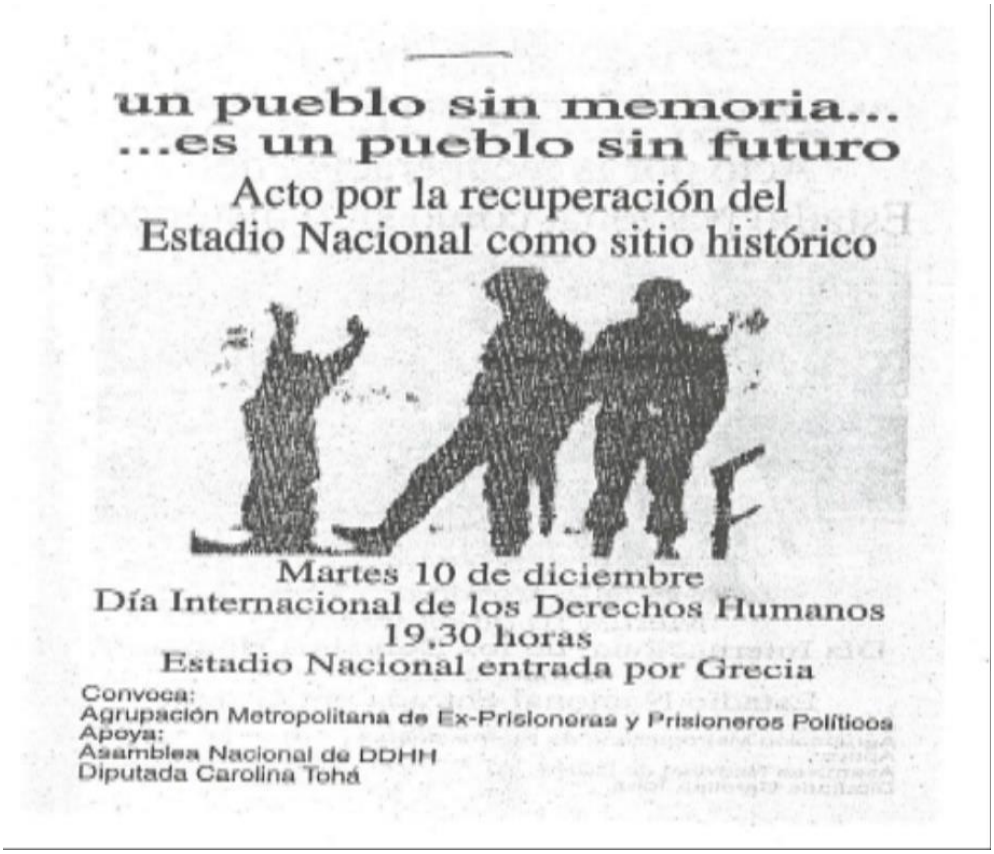

Figure 4. Flyer distributed by memory activists for the public event "A People Without Memory… Are a People without a Future."

Gamboa took a special interest in this new information. Not only did he possess the instincts of a life-long journalist and firmly support the newly elected Congresswoman Tohá. But *el Gato*, as he is affectionately called by friends and colleagues, had also been held without charge and savagely tortured at the National Stadium in 1973. He had made multiple trips to the stadium's *velódromo*—or bike track—where the most heinous torture happened. He had slept on the cold ground of one of the stadium's thirty-two locker rooms, all packed beyond capacity with prisoners. At one point, he was separated from the others and left on purpose (or simply forgotten) for two days inside a small room with a dirt floor, metal chair, and wooden box. He tried to sleep in vain. He tried to comfort the woman he felt but could not see or touch in the mysterious closet-like structure beside his own with more success.

When Gamboa was finally discovered by a surprised conscript who later brought him a bit of bread and coffee, the young soldier explained, "Maybe the previous guard brought you here, but he didn't leave any information."[258] From September 19th until November 7th, the ex-director of *Clarín* suffered with the rest of Chile's persecuted inside the National Stadium. Afterwards he was transferred to another Pinochet penitentiary, *Chacabuco*, where he would remain in captivity for more than a year. Gamboa wrote rhetorically in an op-ed piece after receiving the news from the young woman while he walked in search of an espresso in downtown Santiago: "Why wouldn't I [also] want the Stadium converted into an Historic Site or a National Monument!"[259]

Gamboa wasn't alone. He wasn't the only one who wished to see the National Stadium converted into an Historic Site or a National Monument. The conscious acts of memorialization at the stadium between 1998 and 2003 resulted in a National Stadium Committee charged to make that happen. On April 1, 2003, the nine member committee submitted in writing the first formal declaration to petition the stadium as a national monument. On September 11th of the same year, Minister of Education Sergio Bitar signed into law Decree No. 07100, under the 1970 statute 17.288, which declared the National Stadium a National Monument. In approximately six months, the grassroots group pushed the "the technical organism of the State under the Ministry of Education that safeguards the cultural patrimony" to recognize the stadium as such, in the category of Historic Monument. This step in the stadium's public history would have immediate, long-term, and lasting effects on the life and memory of the stadium. In 2003, the activists achieved at inserting the human rights violations committed at the stadium into officially recognized history. The

[258] Alberto Gamboa quoted in Bonnefoy, 216
[259] La Nación, "Memoria histórica," December 8, 2002

state achieved a monumental step in its actions that looked to placate a dissident memory group. The national monument designation recognized the fuller history of the stadium, though it was the theme of human rights that had initiated it. The state sanctioned the painful narrative as national patrimony, but it was the grassroots group left in charge of a museum project to execute that narrative. The National Stadium Committee was not up to the task. And though it was able to secure permanent protection for the stadium because of the history of the concentration camp of 1973, the Committee was unable to agree on an appropriate way to interpret that history. Though the stadium would be officially protected as Chilean patrimony, it did little to assuage the stadium as a site of continued struggle.

The importance of the national monument designation for the National Stadium, however, cannot be understated. Despite the different readings and diverse aims of state and grassroots stakeholders, official recognition protected it from possible demolition attempts and opposed a strategy "where a number of important political actors (the military, the *pinochetista* political rights, big business) have entered into a kind of tacit agreement to expunge from the urban landscape any symbols of the dictatorship's human rights violations."[260] Pedro Sabat, the conservative mayor of Ñuñoa, where the stadium sits, for one, threatened to sell and raze the stadium. First, in 1998, after heavy rains fell in Santiago, Sabat inspected the stadium and speculated that "people's security is at grave risk" because "This stadium is in a lamentable state of deterioration… [with] serious structural failures."[261] He then threatened to sell the stadium in hopes of replacing it with a new urban, polo field to accommodate sixty thousand people. And only months before the national monument

[260] Lazzara, 129

[261] Sabat's considerations appeared all the more nefarious Chile against a report ordered by stadium sub-secretary Ernesto Valesco. The report was conducted by DICTUC of Santiago's major Catholic University (UC) and confirmed the stadium's structural integrity and safety.

designation, citing the same reasons, Sabat threatened demolition. According to the Chilean writer Hilda Lopéz, "The news of a possible demolition of the National Stadium touched profoundly our national sensibility. Voices of protest erupted, calls to defend 'our stadium.'… the threat of demolition of our principal coliseum awakened a solidarity current, a coming together to share ideas to defend it."[262] In Santiago's *Las Ultimas Noticias*, the public intellectual Enrique Ramírez Capello, after a long eulogy of the stadium as a stage for notable visitors and emblematic events, as much as the day-to-day relations that Chilean maintain with it, declared, "No, they will not take the National Stadium away from us." Meanwhile, Sabat's threats offered the Committee activists another justification to petition the Council of National Monuments for official protection. They offered in the declaration petition "a reason that corresponds to the recently expressed [views] of Mr. Pedro Sabat, Mayor of the Ñuñoa Municipality, who proposes to demolish the National Stadium and create a new stadium in another sector of the city, and then install a 'polo field of urban development' in the terrain currently occupied by the sports complex."[263] Thus, as *pinochetistas* strategized to expunge the urban landscape of potential flashpoints for memory and acts of memory, activists understood the urgency to safeguard these symbolic sites and, in turn, inscribed them with still greater significance. The explicit and real threat of demolition further mobilized grassroots agents to call for explicit and official protection. And when it was confirmed in August of the same year that the national monument status would be bestowed upon the stadium in September, Sabat fired back, "The national monument declaration is so subjective that it has even been given to vacant lots where

[263] National Stadium Committee letter to Council of National Monuments, April 1, 2003, 2

supposedly there was torture. So at this point one can expect anything. The stadium has plenty of independent merits whether it was a detention center or not."[264]

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The National Stadium Committee began convening to declare the stadium a national monument in November 2002, one month before it hosted A People without a Memory is a People without a Future at the National Stadium to celebrate and coincide with International Human Rights Day. After the previous years that had brought unprecedented public mobilization around the stadium-as-concentration-camp (especially in the form of Carmen Luz Parot's *Estadio Nacional*, Judge Juan Guzmán's investigation into the death of Charles Horman, the hundreds of hands that mobilized around the associated memory and commemorative acts, and the thirty-year mark of the coup) the Committee emerged from a sector of civil society that symbolized dissident memories and purveyors of un-official history: the repressed and victimized during the dictatorship, the silenced and marginalized in democracy. The original composition of the committee was professionally and generationally diverse. It consisted of Wally Kunstmann, Lelia Pérez, Carolina Valdés, Alejandra Lopéz, Julio Oliva, Paula Vergara, Sebastián Insunza, Claudia Woywood, and Marcelo Rodriguez. Kunstmann, Peréz, and Valdés represented Santiago's Metropolitan Region of Ex Political Prisoners (RMEPP), while Oliva and Lopéz were members of the human rights group FUNA. Vergara and Insunza, a journalist and lawyer, respectively, were advisors (*asesores*) to Congresswoman Tohá. Rodríguez and Woywood were the architects

[264] Sabat quoted in *Las Ultimas Noticias*, August 23, 2003; Sabat's remark appeared to be suggesting the Hornos de Lonquen as a "vacant lot." A unanimous vote on August 21, 2003, at the Council of National Monuments declared that the National Stadium would be signed into law as a National Monument on September 11 of the same year.

responsible for the museum component of National Stadium, National Memory. Together they represented former political prisoners and exiles, family members of the detained and disappeared, and politically and personally connected interests of politicians and activists. Only one, Pérez, was a former stadium prisoner. Outside of this core group, the Committee noted it would also work with other groups "related to human rights in Chile" in the petition process.[265]

On April 1, 2003, in name of the National Stadium Committee, Woywood and Rodríguez submitted a letter and declaratory proposal to the Council of National Monuments (Council hereafter). It stated clearly the Committee's commitment to the themes of memory and human rights, marking the grassroots group's first, formal declaration to declare the stadium a national monument. The project proposal, titled National Stadium, National Memory, outlined the objectives to declare the stadium a national monument. It also proposed a human rights museum and education center at the site. The Committee supported as much as justified these objectives with two guiding principles, "In the first place, memory… [as] a central theme of re-democratization… and in second place, the project focuse[d] on the defense and promotion of human rights." The grassroots group urged that "public memory coincide[d] with private memory, and that the powers of the State act in function of this occurrence (*coincidencia*)." The Committee articulated the stadium as a medium and conveyor of public memory, and also a place for individual or loose memories. It then called on the powers of the state to facilitate this by arguing that memory—even dissident memory—was fundamental to the re-democratization of a post-authoritarian

[265]National Stadium Committe letter to the Council of National Monuments, April 1, 2003. This letter is archived at the Council of National Monuments.

society. The Committee cast the National Stadium, National Memory project in a universalizing context of human rights and democracy, offering the memory-lesson that

> There are various examples throughout the world that societies, after suffering from the force of the State against its citizens, did not want to accept responsibility for their pasts. This, [by] promoting a posture of a 'clean slate' (*borrón y cuenta nueva*), along with 'final stop' and amnesty laws, aims… to forget, suppress, relativize, justify or cover up the facts of the past… [in our society] one can find the desire by state institutions to not question themselves about the past, and also [in] individual members of our society.

This grassroots stance against the state's desire to not dig too deeply into the dictatorial past helped crystallize the memorability of a place physically connected to human rights violations. From the longer decades since the stadium had served as a concentration camp to the immediate years that preceded the proposal, the Committee activists understood and argued that the stadium's permanence and symbolic significance disallowed a clean slate; it inhibited the forgetting, repressing, relativizing, justifying, or covering up the facts—and memories—of the concentration camp. National Stadium, National Memory articulated for the Committee grassroots concerns of memory, human rights, and democracy. And history. That place—or the marking, making, and inscription of a special narrative at a specific place—was central to the activists' strategy also indicated a special sensitivity to the public sphere. The project proved different than other historical narratives, the Committee argued, because unlike "books, testimonies, movies," the stadium was "three-dimensional" and people could have "direct access to the past."

Though or because the Committee committed to institutionalizing the stadium as a "Site of Memory," multiple interpretations of and justification for the historic monument designation emerged. First, the stadium as a site of memory prevented a prescription that denied the stadium-as-concentration camp. Second, the stadium would serve as a memorial

tribute to the thousands of stadium victims and their family members that suffered there as much as it claimed the incorporation of the stadium camp memories into the national narrative. Third, as a site of memory, Committee activists interpreted its utility as a potential center active in the defense and promotion of human rights. Finally, the grassroots group understood the stadium as a surface of inscription to help identify and preserve lived relationships and experiences, to liberate new meanings of reflection, and, in the name of human rights, to write themselves into Chile's changing history and democracy.[266] These significances drove the Committee to outline specific objectives for National Stadium, National Memory:

- Preserve the historic value of an emblematic place for our memory
- Commemorate the human rights victims of the military dictatorship and publicly condemn the crimes committed
- Investigate, document, clarify, and disseminate the events, victims, and victimizers
- Reflect upon the social, culture, and historical factors that initiated this (the concentration camp) phenomenon and to develop its (narrative) wake
- Inform and educate the society in order to alert and prevent the return of the events
- Initiate critical thought about discriminatory attitude and acts; sexist, racist, xenophobic, and other types found today in our society
- Motivate the recovery of other sites of memory linked to human rights violations in the county[267]

[266] Nelly Richard, *Cultural Residuals: Chile in Transition,* 6. Richard argued that Chilean "memory needs surfaces of inscription to record itself so that the lived relationship between mark, texture, and event can liberate new capabilities of meaning."

[267] This ambitious list of objectives was all the more radical during the recovery of the stadium as a site of memory because it expressed a desire to function as a Site of Conscience in a budding international movement. Liz Sevcenko expressed this idea in 2008 while reflecting on the 1999 creation of the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience as "Historic places that foster dialogue on pressing contemporary issues in historical perspective" and "that remembering sites of both abuse and resistance were critical" to democratic transitions. Sites of Conscience moved beyond more recognizable standards of memory and memorial sites and into a realm that saw these historic places as critical sites for public encounter and dialogue. What would follow from this type of civic engagement at and through Sites of Conscience, Sevcenko and others argued, was a strengthening of a society's democracy. By taking an overtly political as well as moral posture in the form of human rights, stadium activists' articulations mirrored the ideas imbedded in the founding pillars of International Coalition of Sites of Conscience.

From the first day the stadium activists made clear their political and moral intentions. These local understandings, interpretations, and practices of human rights and memory were on the leading edge of a movement that pressed the state into recognizing new types of patrimony. Both in terms of painful narratives and physical sites, the stadium initiative helped lay the groundwork for the explosion of civil-society driven human rights memorials after 2003 (Chapter 4 and 6). From this perspective, the Committee, formed from the memory activism surrounding the stadium between 1998 and 2003, culminating in the formation of the National Stadium Committee and its project National Stadium, National Memory, challenged in a new way official narratives and staid histories. Meanwhile the state made changes to adapt, adopt, and incorporate these new narratives under the broader political goal of reconciliation, reparation, and unification.[268]

[268] As the Committee activists participated in and helped change the political process of public memorialization, so too was the memory question itself changing. Stern argued that the memory question—how to remember Pinochet's legacy and the violence he unleashed—had morphed in new and sometimes unforeseen dimensions. Where the memory question stood central to the politicocultural context of the 1990s, by the mid-2000s the principal memory frameworks—memory as salvation, memory as rupture, memory as awakening, and memory as a closed box—underwent evolutionary change, blurred together, and, in the case of memory as salvation, mostly discredited. Stern explained the evolving memory question; that the core themes of truth, justice, and memory directly after the military rule had stretched to include broader ideas of human rights (indigenous, labor, homosexual); that new issues "that were irreducible to legacies of military rule" arose; that the "classic version of the memory question… recede[d] from the strategic place it held in 1990-91and in 2003-2004;" and finally that the changing or shifting memory question put more emphasis on the legacies and inadequacies of the ruling center-left Concertación (1990-2010) rather than the military rulers, something that would ring true for the soon-to-be divided Committee activists after the 2003 national monument designation. When the activated citizenry convened at the stadium on December 10, 2002 under the urging and efforts of the Committee, they and the declaratory process were on the leading edge of the changing politics of public memorialization, while Stern's memory question still occupied a strategic position in Chile's transition period. The surge from civil society pushed for and merged with President Lagos's mandate of There is No Tomorrow without Yesterday. The civil-state synthesis that originally helped establish the stadium as a site of memory and patrimony soon saw, either because or despite of it, the memory question slip to second-tier status. That is, it was exactly when the classic or original version of the memory question fell from its strategic position that Chile began to witness an increase in public memorialization, highlighting a push-pull effect. On one hand, Chile's democratizing transition, especially beginning in 2003, experienced new spaces for public memorial initiatives. While on the other, as these initiatives multiplied in subsequent years, they represented a critical answer to the *Concertación*'s inadequacy of keeping the theme of human rights—or the memory question—a central tenet. Thus, as the memory

On the same April day that the Committee notified the Council of the proposal National Stadium, National Memory, a letter also landed in the hands of Sergio Bitar, the Minister of Education. Much more succinct than the sixteen page proposal to the Counsel, it declared to the Minister of Education that "The National Stadium was the largest concentration camp in our country, where human rights were systematically violated, a place where tens of thousands of Chileans and foreigners passed, of which when there were interrogated, tortured, and many of them assassinated and disappeared." As such, the Committee planned to petition the stadium as a national monument. "The idea," the letter stated, "is to build a Human Rights Education Museum and rescue certain sites at the [sporting] complex to create an open museum and site of memory." The letter was signed by the National Stadium Committee. The contact phone number and address below belonged to Committee member and lawyer Sebastian Insunza, advisor to Congresswoman Carolina Tohá.[269]

Tohá, for her part, was the highest ranked politician publicly supporting the stadium petition and human rights project. Just three days after the Committee sent letters to the Council and Minister Bitar to announce the project plans, Tohá published her opinion and support in two of Santiago's leading dailies, *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*.[270] As a departure point, the congresswoman noted the urgency to protect the stadium given the then recent demolition threats made by Pedro Sabat, the mayor of Ñuñoa where the stadium is located (previous chapter). She continued through some of the more recognizable events in the

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question that arose to keep the human rights movement motivated in the post-dictatorship period diminished, the geography of public memorials and memory knots expanded.

[269] National Stadium Committe letter to Minister Sergio Bitar. Letter is archived at the Council of National Monuments

[270] "Estadio Nacional," *El Mercurio*, April 4, 2003 and "Defensa del Nacional," *La Tercera*, April 4, 2003

stadium's history, citing specifically in "the year '73 the installation of the largest concentration camp in our country." Using almost the exact same language that the Committee penned in the letter to Bitar three days prior, Tohá declared, "Underway is a project to declare certain sections of the stadium a Historic Monument and convert them into educative and reflection spaces, which helps us strengthen a culture of Human Rights." She prescribed to the public that "The National Stadium is a patrimony of all Chileans that we need to protect and preserve" and argued that "The city requires more points of encounter and more historic memory." Tohá, privy to the Committee's intentions and ideas through her advisors, Insunza and Vergara, disseminated the Committee's desires to broader audiences. In a paraphrased way, she helped frame and amplify the Committee's key arguments, pushed the idea of the stadium as national patrimony, and urged the formation of the stadium as a place of democratic encounter and civic engagement in terms of historic memory.

Recently elected to Chile's lower house of congress in 2001 as a member of the Party for Democracy (PPD, Partido por la Democracia), Tohá played an important initial role from a political perspective. However, personal and moral convictions may have played a role, too. Not unimportantly, the congresswoman had followed her father's footsteps into politics. José Tohá had been a prominent member of Chile's Socialist Party and served under Allende, first appointed as Minister of the Interior and later as Minister of Defense. On the day of the coup, the elder Tohá was with Allende in the presidential palace. But where Allende perished, Tohá was taken prisoner. First, he was held at Chile's Military Academy and later transferred to Dawson Island alongside other high-ranking government officials, including Tohá's colleague, Sergio Bitar. Bitar, who had been Allende's Minister of Mining, later spoke of Minister Tohá and their experience in Dawson Island: "José Tohá would talk to us

about living language, how to speak *Castellano* (Spanish) and would reproach us when we spoke poorly in the camp, nourishing us to take advantage of our situation there to enrich our vocabulary, our grammar, our narrative capacity."[271] After eight months trying to improve the conditions of his *compañeros* on the isolated island, the disposed minister was sent back to Santiago due to his failing health, complicated, of course, by torture. On March 15, 1974, in Santiago's Military Hospital, a malnourished and weakened José Tohá met the same fate as Allende. The official story was that Tohá had hung himself. After the dictatorship this story was turned to homicide after exhumation and forensic testing of the former minister.

The deceased minister's daughter, then, approached the National Stadium, National Memory project from a political perspective as much as a personally moral one. Her commitment showed that while official currents, histories, and narratives sought reconciliation and consensus through implicit silences and pacts, some politicians genuinely generated support by signing on to grassroots projects that fell outside of officialdom. Thus, Congresswoman Tohá's personal and moral attachment and political interest and perspective in memorializing the largest concentration camp in Chile demonstrated the sometimes difficult and conflictive positions that *Concertación* politicians found themselves in; or, at least, it showed that consensus and reconciliation stances were hardly consensual or static. Tohá had helped convene the A People without Memory is a People without a Future ceremony at the stadium. Her advisors were credited with soliciting the Committee participants. She editorialized the Committee's views in nationally circulated newspapers. After the national monument designation was secured she partnered with Angel Cabeza, the director of the Council, to co-write the introduction of the Council of National Monument's

[271] Sergio Bitar quoted in Rody Onate, "José Tohá: Un Quijote de mente, pluma y corazón…," November 9, 2001

2004 book *Three Views of the National Stadium of Chile: History, Sports, Architecture*. Tohá, with Cabeza, confirmed:

> There are three visions for [this] patrimonial place that we believe give full account to its great patrimonial value for all Chileans. Certainly, we are in the presence of contradictory values for the Chilean society, especially the sad episodes of 1973; but a nation isn't constructed [by] negating its past and hiding its wounds, nor by permanently taking refuge in them. Our vision of Chilean patrimony is of the future, but clearly founded in its own roots that we all must know.[272]

Tohá's own overlapping and perhaps contradictory personal-public perspectives resonated with the grassroots Committee. On an individual level and through her advisors, she helped push the stadium and the theme of human rights into new patrimonial realms at a time when official histories were hurting for grassroots, dissident memory narratives. From her political position, she also moved against a sea of officialdom, a clean slate policy of reconciliation by siding with the grassroots initiative. If the Committee's human rights museum would "reconstruct and tell the 'unofficial' history of the National Stadium,"[273] then the public official Tohá was there to support it.

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On October 2, 2011, the community radio station *Radio Primero de Mayo* hosted the historian Alejandra Lopéz and myself to talk about the history of National Stadium, National Memory, its newest developments, and our respective participation in and relation to the project. During this on-air conversation, Lopéz explained the importance of the prisoners' wall-etchings to the historical development of the national monument designation—which in turn had prompted ideas for the museum. She cited the wide dissemination of Carmen Luz

[272] *Tres Miradas al Estadio Nacional: Historia, Deporte, Arquitectura*, (Santiago: Gobierno de Chile, Ministerio de Educacion, 2004), Introduction

[273] National Stadium Committe letter to the Council of National Monuments, April 1, 2003

Parot's documentary and its record of the re-discovery of these marks left in 1973 (Chapter 4). The etchings had been carved by prisoners using rocks, nails, coins, belt-buckles—anything. One in particular read

HEART BREAKER N3
DON'T LET ME DOWN
BEBO 16/IX/73[274]

According to Lopéz, this had motivated Insunza and Vergara to begin "to assemble human rights organizations, former political prisoners, FUNA-Commission, HIJO—and like that, like that we started to know what happened, what occurred, and the first thing was undoubtedly to declare the place an historic monument."

Until 2003, the stadium camp's unofficial history had played out in documentaries, memoirs, newspaper accounts, and ephemeral commemoration ceremonies. Besides the needle-in-the-haystack plaque installed by a collective of grassroots hands in 2001, not much in the way of physical evidence remained of the stadium camp at the emblematic site. But with the revelation of the wall-etchings against a larger backdrop of the memory battles shaping up on the thirtieth anniversary of the coup, Lopéz considered that "the walls were talking." Lopéz, the daughter of a detained-disappeared communist militant, was a critical member of the Committee. An historian by training who would later teach human rights courses at the University of Chile, she also helped found the influential human rights organizations HIJOS and FUNA.[275] Comprised of the children of the politically executed and disappeared, these grassroots groups had formed on the heels of Pinochet's 1998 arrest, offering a younger generation public voice and political agency. They ascribed to a political

[274] This etching is currently protected under the provisions of the 2003 national monument designation; the others are not.
[275] Hijos is Spanish for children. The formal name of the HIJOS organization is Truth Action and Justice Children—Chile, based on the HIJOS group formed earlier in Argentina.

activism which had been suppressed both during the dictatorship and the early 1990s. As part of this activism, these "Young people organized noisy 'outings' (*funas*) of torturers." The group executed its first *funa* in September 1999 against the torture conspirator Dr. Alejandro Forero Alvarez at his medical clinic. Before that, "HIJOS organized street exhibits in Santiago's shantytowns and its downtown pedestrian street Paseo Ahumada. The point was to build personalized memory awareness—not statistics," according to Stern, "but the stories of individual victims and perpetrators."[276] Lopéz recalled the citizens who came to share their stories at the exhibits, "We [were] amazed listening to the stories… there was an incredible need for people to tell their story, 'Look, this is what happened to me'… It was super strong because it [torture] was super unknown to people… It was like facing up to something that really is not talked about in this country."[277] After the HIJOS's *funa* of Dr. Forero, others followed. Initially interpreted as a fringe youth group utilizing guerrilla-type tactics, Lopéz and allies later consolidated HIJOS into the FUNA Commission and became a major cultural force in the emergent memory politics of Chile's democratic transitioning. Soon, others joined these youth-driven public outings, including some members of Chile's founding human rights organizations. At the time when HIJOS-FUNA groups were making great public waves, Lopéz converted this generational momentum into a commitment to safeguard the vestiges inside the National Stadium.

Understanding the need to include former stadium prisoners in the national monument petition process, Tohá's advisors approached the Metropolitan Region of Ex Political Prisoners (RMEPP), headed by Wally Kunstmann. Like HIJOS-FUNA, RMEPP

[276] Stern, Vol. II, 232; Lopéz recounted this story of the first FUNA to me in 2011 after we had convened at a National Stadium, National Memory meeting. What struck me most about Lopéz's story was the uncertainty and anxiety that she felt just before the outing, unsure if she'd be arrested, jailed, and beaten.
[277] Ibid., 232; Lopéz interview with Stern, September 12, 2000

had also formed in the aftermath of Pinochet's 1998 arrest in London. As the British Parliament debated Pinochet's extradition to Spain, the fallout in Chile brought together former victims of Pinochet. One time prisoners, torture survivors, and exiles united in unprecedented ways to voice support for the Spanish extradition of Pinochet. Kunstmann remembered, "A group of women [who were] former political prisoners decided to go to *La Moneda* (Chile's presidential palace) to ask for an audience with then president Eduardo Frei" to insist that the Chilean "government would not intercede in favor of the dictator." Frei never answered the women and as the drama of Pinochet's London detention unfolded, they continued their resolve. "Day in and day out," Kunstmann wrote, "the number of former political prisoners uniting to come to [*La Moneda*'s] Constitution Plaza grew. This demonstrated the survivors… could be active actors in the process of Pinochet's extradition and indictment (*enjuicimiento*)." Kunstmann and friends agreed to write and send their testimonies to Spanish Judge Baltasar Garzon, while "simultaneously, we decided to organize an Association (*Agrupación*) whose principal objective would be to denounce the torture… committed by the dictatorship, to signal the sites (*recintos*) of Prison and Torture where we had been sequestered, and [name] the names of the military and civilian agents who tortured us."[278] Though Kunstmann herself was not a stadium prisoner in 1973, the majority of the organization she led was. RMEPP's president, however, apart from a former political prisoner in the south of Chile and an exile of nearly two-decades in Venezuela, was a determined, fiery leader unafraid to move against convention and consensus.[279]

[278] Wally Kunstman and Victoria Torres, *Cien Voces Rompen el Silencio*, 19

[279] Before fleeing to exile after her arrest, Kunstmann was active in the illegal Communist Party after the coup. She utilized her downtown Santiago apartment as a safe house and was a messenger who brought food, money, and papers to those in hiding in other areas of the city. In Maracay, Venezuela, Kunstmann co-founded the Solidarity Committee with Chile and was president of the Pablo Neruda Cultural Center.

FUNA-HIJOS and RMEPP represented and embraced a new, post-1998 chapter in Chile's human rights movement. Both were newly formed, while also serving as examples of the memory question's generational expansiveness and public debate about the memory of torture, the tortured, the torturers, and torture sites.[280] The former, represented by Lopéz and Julio Oliva on the Committee, came from a younger generation, children of and during the dictatorship.[281] Lopéz confirmed her feelings, "The issue of human rights is not only about the detained-disappeared ones [but also] a generational thing. It's like one as a youth feels the theme is much bigger, that it touched society in a much wider way." The latter, represented by Kunstmann, Lelia Pérez, and Carolina Valdés on the Committee, conferred the sentiments of the group in its 2004 publication *Cien Voces Rompen el Silencio: Testimonios de ex presas y presos politicos de la dictadura military en Chile (1973-1990),* "One of the principal objectives (*propósitos*) of our organization is Historic Memory work. We are conscious of the enormous responsibility that we have in this field… [thus] we [publicly] denounce the different repressive agencies" of the state and "submit the location and photographs of the clandestine jails and sites of torture."[282] The politics of each of these new groups overlapped in more ways than one but especially because of the focus and use of public space and the denunciation of torture. HIJOS-FUNA relied heavily on an emergent strategy of public shaming by naming known torturers and collaborators of human rights violations. In 2003, Oliva also published *Informe Gitter: Los criminales tienen nombres*

Kunstmann would prove crucial, if not divisive, and later become the central figure associated with the National Stadium, National Memory project.

[280] Before Pinochet's arrest, torture was a taboo subject for public commentary and debate. Afterwards, it became central to the popular justice discourse in public spaces and events. RMEPP, for example, created a traveling exhibition that included large banners describing various methods of torture, the sites where torture happened, and the state organizations that tortured.

[281] Julio Oliva is a journalist whose father was killed by CNI agents on August 23, 1984. In 2003, Oliva published *Informe Gitter: Los criminales tienen nombres* (Santiago: Editorial XXI, 2003)

[282] Kunstmann and Torres, *Cien Voces Rompen el Silencio*, 24

(Gitter Report: The Criminals have Names) to fill in where the Rettig Report left off: the naming of those responsible for human rights violations. RMEPP, in a less direct but effective way, added to the public's knowledge of the extensive web of state agencies that participated in torture through its traveling exhibit, a published and publicized map that graphed the 1,132 torture sites in Chile, and the collection of its members' testimonies in an audio-visual archive.[283] What was more impressive still is that these grassroots groups understood the historical weight of their positions. They committed to a "responsibility" on behalf of historic memory and saw themselves as "active actors" not just in political processes but, implicitly, in history itself. For Lopéz as much as Kunstmann, the active stance to publicly denounce torturers and torture sites was a chance, if not an obligation, to politically and morally insert themselves into a moment of profound historical importance, to answer officials' insistence of a completed democratic transition, and achieve popular justice when many perpetrators enjoyed social and judicial immunity.

The mobilization around the memory of the stadium-as-concentration between 1998 and 2003 coincided with and was sparked by the 1998 arrest of Pinochet. The emergence of new human rights groups and strategies was felt in public space, the taboo of torture was broken, and the memory-impasse that had marked the nation since its 1990 return to democracy unraveled into a "new memory environment." Within this environment, three things happened: "First, state actors and branches that had retreated from the memory question turned active, even strategic… Second, immunity shields cracked… Third, a more

[283] RMEPP created a traveling exhibition that included large banners describing various methods of torture, the sites where torture happened, and the state organizations that tortured. The banners and signage from the exhibition would later be displayed at the commemoration and memory acts at the stadium hosted by the human rights organization. RMEPP also worked with the Department of Anthropology from the University of Chile to create an audio-visual archive of the organization's members.

open climate of memory expression took hold. It felled taboos, drew out new information, and pushed to the fore the uncomfortable memory-truth of torture."[284] HIJOS-FUNA and RMEPP exploited and helped define these new memory expressions. Already pushing new memory boundaries from similar and distinct perspectives, representatives from both groups organized around the stadium project. The politics of the stadium, its silenced stories of torture, the need for inscriptions of memory and place-preservations, and its status as the largest torture site in Chile's history resonated with the objectives and principles set by these human rights groups. Furthermore, it crystallized the struggle between civil society groups and the state's changing, utilitarian position on the memory question. Thus, HIJOS-FUNA and RMEPP signed onto the National Stadium Committee and vowed to declare the stadium a national historic monument.

Coincidently, as Tohá's advisors began to solicit participation in a potential stadium project, Insunza attended a reunion barbeque of the Alianza Francesa High School. There, he reunited with a former classmate and architect, Claudia Woywood. Woywood, at that particular time, was learning the details of her uncle's arrest and disappearance. Earlier in 2002, evidence in judicial proceedings had established that the architect Alejandro Rodríguez Urzúa had been at and disappeared from Villa Grimaldi, the former clandestine concentration camp. By 2002, the Villa Grimaldi Park for Peace had charted new territory in the realm of sites of memory. Woywood's growing interest in her uncle's disappearance and knowledge of the groundbreaking steps at Villa Grimaldi resonated with Insunza and the stadium project. "It was because of this and also influenced by the Carmen Luz (Parot) documentary," Woywood recalled, "[that] we thought about doing something with Marcelo

[284] Stern, Vol. II, 232

(Woywood's uncle) and there I found Sebastian and we set about doing something together."[285] Through this high school connection, Woywood and Rodriguez, niece and son of the detained-disappeared architect Alejandro Rodríguez, joined the stadium project, rounding out the nine-member National Stadium Committee.

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From the first day, the Committee's committed to the themes of memory and human rights. Based on explicit directives and objectives in the April 1 letter to the Council, the Committee members articulated the multi-layered project National Stadium, National Memory. They offered a framework for the stadium as a Site of Memory, activated through a museum and education center. To achieve its objectives the Committee based National Stadium, National Memory on two "areas of work" (*lineas de trabajo*). The first

> looks to open a space for the commemoration, meditation, and expression of pain and encounter for the survivors and their family members. This, precisely in a place that conserves vestiges which give evidence of the tortures, executions, and disappearances… we urgently consider the necessity to preserves and adequately maintain these vestiges.

The Committee proposed an "historic museum," invoked the power of place for personal commemoration and conservator of a painful past, and argued for the conservation of vestiges that gave proof to that past. As a second area, the Committee estimated that "this Site of Memory must be a place of education and current reflection for the society… promoting the construction of society based in democratic principles and respect for human rights." As such, within the proposed museum, the Committee advocated for a "research and documentation center with an archive, library, and spaces for seminars and workshops about

[285] Woywood quoted by Verónica Torres, "Los escritos de los presos políticos del Estadio Nacional: El pergamino, la lápida y la canción de Bebo, The Clinic, November, 2010

the themes" of memory, human rights, and democracy. Within the National Stadium, National Memory declaration, the Committee inserted the human rights museum component, aptly named: Open Museum, Site of Memory and Homage. Along with the research and documentation center, the ambitious project anticipated a permanent exhibit, audio-visual material, guided visits, and dialogues with stadium survivors.

The April 1 letter from the Committee to the Council was a radical request to covert the stadium into a Site of Memory based in principles that promoted democracy and human rights. After some six months of planning, the penned views reflected in the National Stadium, National Memory proposal offered crucial insight into the Committee's commitments. Not only did it posit the importance of the grassroots group's central principles but it revealed the centrality and symbolism of the stadium as a particular and powerful place. At a crucially historic juncture, some three decades after Chile's military coup and a little more than a decade into the country's democratic transition, the Committee committed to activate the stadium as a site of memory because of its history as Pinochet's largest torture site. The physical vestiges retained at the place coupled with the stadium's capacity to connect to the entirety of Chilean society confirmed it as a contested memory knot in the post-1998 public memory environment. When official and other types of less explicit but still real and powerful attempts to demolish, expunge, and cover up Pinochet's toxic sites circulated, the stadium's place in history, in the present, and the projected future came into full view. The Committee confirmed this transcendent place-power while giving further credence to it. "The spirit of the place where painful events occurred is difficult to describe, but without doubt perceptible," the April 1 letter read, "making people feel that they shared the occurred experience." It sought to tell the stadium's "un-official history" in a

new way, narrated at the stadium itself. What set this project apart from other historical narratives, the Committee argued, was that *place* provided direct access to the past and invoked a shared experience of that past.

The stadium's place as a Site of Memory situated in the history and memory of human rights violations for the activists was unmistakable, as it was for others. For example, on February 19, 2003, the well positioned Minister Secretary General Heraldo Muñoz Valenzuela endorsed the initiative in a communique to Cabeza,

> The National Stadium was one of the detention sites that symbolized, in part, the destiny of thousands of comrades (*compatriotas*) that passed through its spaces (*dependencias*). There they lived the drama of interrogations, tortures, mock executions, and all types of humiliation to human dignity and the rights established in International Conventions about this… As such, underway is a project to declare certain sections of the stadium as Historic Monuments that conserve the graphic testimony of the Chileans that passed through there. The central idea consists of making a museum at the *Caracola del Velódromo,* a "Museum for Life," rescuing a few *escotillas* in the central coliseum where still intact are inscriptions effected by the prisoners that were there… Given this, the Minister Secretary General of the Government offers all of his support to this initiative that looks to protect a place that it not only sports patrimony but which also forms parts of the collective memory of a country as testimony to a sad period of the national history.[286]

Other individuals and organizations had preceded Muñoz's endorsement. The previous December the Autonomous Center of Workers (CAT) declared

> Detention centers throughout the country opened, where the basic principles ratified under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights were systematically violated. Of these centers, **The National Stadium of Chile, a place where more than 40 thousand Chileans passed through, of which were interrogated, tortured, and many of them killed**, constitutes the most emblematic…This is the place… nearly 30 years after the cruel facts it is necessary to recover and purify this veil of death that covered [the stadium] decades ago in order to fill it again with life and hope, as it

[286] Heraldo Muñoz Valenzuela letter to Angel Cabeza, February 19, 2003. This letter is archived at the Council of National Monuments

> once was… For these reasons we support fully the project **National Stadium, National Memory**.[287]

Along with an endorsement from organized labor, the Committee secured written support for National Stadium, National Memory in the form of more than five-hundred letters from powerful students' groups such as the Student Federation of Chile (FECH), professional organizations such as the National Association of Journalists, and prominent citizen-scholars such as Manuel Antonio Garretón.[288]

Between the December 10, 2002 A People Without Memory… Are a People without a Future event and the April 1, 2003 letter announcing the move to declare the stadium a nation monument, the Committee worked vigorously to secure support from broad sectors of civil and political society as much as prominent individuals and former political prisoners. The April 1 letter and proposal reflected a radical request on the part of a grassroots group to memorialize the stadium-as-concentration camp. The Committee appeared poised to secure approval for the national monument status of the stadium and execute a human rights museum and education center at the largest of Pinochet's toxic sites. But then the Committee split. Sometime after the April 1 letter presented by the architects, differing views and conflicting personalities sent the nine-member Committee into a tail spin, a spin that didn't stop at the national monument designation. Instead it went directly to the heart of the museum project slated to interpret the 1973 concentration camp at the National Stadium. Because Woywood and Rodríguez had represented the Committee in the April 1 letter to the Council and were responsible for the architectural and museum design of the project, the two

[287] Central Autonoma de Trabajadores letter to the National Stadium Committe, December 27, 2002; CAT's emphasis. This letter is archived at the Council of National Monuments

[288] Approximaely five hundred support letters for 'Estadio Nacional, Memoria Naciona' are archived at the Council of National Monuments in Santiago, Chile.

architects would claim proprietorship of the "Open Museum: Site of Memory and Homage" component of declaration proposal. In doing so, they also claimed ownership of the proposal itself. In another way, the museum component "Open Museum: Site of Memory and Homage" of the National Stadium, National Memory project resulted in the architects independent version of a national monument proposal. This new vision took the form of a *Solicitud de declaración de Monumento Histórico y Zona Típica—Estadio Nacional*.[289] The architects departed the Committee with the designs, technical knowledge, and established communication with the Council. Only six weeks after the April 1 letter from the architects to the Council on behalf of the nine-member Committee, they turned to Cabeza on May 16, 2003,

> in order to formally submit the Application [*Solicitud*] of the Declaration of National Monument for the National Stadium in distinct categories, along with a proposal of intervention and development of some of the sectors of said complex… Concerning the proposal of the intervention, it concerns a project which belongs [to us] under the title 'Open Museum: Site of Memory and Homage,' with the purpose of diffusion and promotion of human rights, such as the public recognition of what happened at the National Stadium when it was utilized as a prison camp.[290]

In the new, formalized petition, the architects bemoaned the "numerous problems" that had emerged within the Committee and that it had "dissolved." The son and niece of the detained-disappeared architect Alejandro Rodríguez confirmed, however, that "Our commitment and conviction with the theme motivated us to continue working independently."[291]

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[289] Application to Declare the National Stadium a Historic Monument and Typical Zone from Claudia Woywood and Marcelo Rodríguez. The application is archived at the Council of National Monuments.

[290] Claudia Woywood and Marcelo Rodríguez letter to Angel Cabeza, Executive Secretary of the Council of National Monuments, May 16, 2003. Letter is archived at the Council of National Monuments.

[291] May 16 Application to Declare the Stadium a National Monument; Sometime between April 1 and May 16, 2003 the National Stadium Committee that had formed out of the grassroots memory mobilization around the stadium-as-concentration camp in these previous years split. The rift within the Committee represented

While Woywood and Rodríguez went to establish an independent proposal and push the museum project that they had created, Kunstmann and Insunza also approached the Council. In a letter dated May 5, they wrote

> That in the last month and a half the Project Committee 'National Stadium, National Memory' has had serious differences and difficulties with one of the architectural teams (formed by Claudia Woywood and Marcelo Rodríguez) charged to elaborate the technical proposal to the Council of National Monument… given this situation we decided not to continue with their collaboration.[292]

Under the continued mantel of the National Stadium Committee, Kunstmann and Insunza continued, like the architects, to work independently toward the same goal—to declare the stadium an historic monument. With the change in character and the composition of the Committee, so came a change in the tone of the proposal. Originally explicit about the key themes of human rights, memory, and democracy, the architects' new *solicitud* proved more expansive—and maybe less controversial—by recognizing the stadium's other urban, architectural, social, and historical values. The language of the April 1 letter submitted by Woywood and Rodríguez on behalf of the original Committee differed drastically from their independent proposal on May 16. At first blush, the latter offered less radical reasons to declare the stadium a national monument. The stadium-as-concentration camp moved from a central position to another accolade listed with the stadium's longer history and larger cultural values. Outside of the new language, however, the human rights museum component—Open Museum: Site of Memory and Home—remained the same: radical. The

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competing interests among similar but still distinct stakeholders, and would cause lasting effects of the memorial life of the stadium-as-concentration camp. Though James Young has suggested that perhaps the best way to preserve memory is to keep it unresolved, the consequences of this schism might be read as a missed opportunity to establish and promote an effective human rights museum, education, and research center at Pinochet's largest site of detention and torture. This was not to be the case as antagonist camps within and representing the human rights community squared off.

[292] Kunstmann and Insunza letter to the Council of National Monuments, May 5, 2003. Letter archived at the Council of National Monuments.

architects kept intact their human rights museum, promising to also establish an education and research center.[293]

The Committee split had profound implications for the memorial life of the stadium. In the immediate present it divided the voice of the grassroots group that had mobilized to name the stadium a national monument, though Cabeza straddled the issue. In a letter to the new Minister Secretary General, Francisco Vidal Salinas, Cabeza confirmed the Council's support for the declaration of the national monument but remained ambiguous about the grassroots stakeholders' recent split. He wrote that his backing of the project was "based on the architectural visits to the stadium, the document Application [*Solicitud*] of the Declaration of Historic Monument and Typical Zone—National Stadium, and the archive of documents presented by Mr. Sebastian Insunza (support petitions from congressman and authorities-2002)."[294] After the letter that informed political elites that the Council would move forward to help declare the stadium a national monument, Cabeza communicated with the architects and Insunza and Kunstmann independently, but much more with the professionals. Official documents show that the Council worked with Woywood and Rodríguez while Kunstmann and Insunze remained marginalized. The latter expressed concern on July 2, writing to the Council to ask authorization to view the submitted documents related to the national monument proposal. "The required information," they insisted, "is for a small dossier to be presented to the President of the Republic, Ricardo Lagos, of which will be submitted by Carolina Tohá next week during a meeting about the theme." They reminded the Council that "It must be remembered that the Committee

[293] See Woywood and Rodríguez's website: http://www.archivesaudiovisuelles.fr/1860/proyecto-abierto.asp
[294] Angel Cabeza communique to Minister Vidal, May 28, 2003. Communique is archived at the Council of National Monuments

[Project National Stadium, National Memory] is part of this application [*solicitud*]… to declare certain sectors of the stadium National Monument(s)."[295]

The appeal by Insunza and Kunstmann crystallized the rift in the original make-up of the Committee. The short term effects established a tension that would continue in the long-term, and activists would later argue that the dispute proved the perfect excuse for the state to withdrawal its institutional support for the human rights museum and education and research center. While Woywood and Rodriguez's May 16 Application (*Solicitud*) manipulated the language of the original proposal but kept the museum component intact, they also solicited a new batch of support letters that named the architects specifically and backed Open Museum: Site of Memory and Homage.[296] This consisted of sixteen letters delivered to the Council in August, and included support from Chile's then emergent memory sites Villa Grimaldi Park for Peace and José Domingo Cañas 1367 as well as the powerfully influential human rights organization AFDD and FASIC, established in 1973 and 1978, respectively. These influential supporters drew a clear line that opposed the efforts of the Committee's project National Stadium, National Memory specifically but also implicitly the newly established human rights organization Metropolitan Region of Ex Political Prisoners, headed by Kunstmann.

The complications continued. Not only had the grassroots group split in its relations with state representatives. But the state also had multiple institutional stake-holders to contend with. Though the Council of National Monuments under the Ministry of Education

[295] Kuntsmann and Insunza letter to the Council of National Monuments under the banner of Project Committee National Stadium, National Memory," July 2, 2003. I have not found documented or oral evidence that the dossier mentioned in the letter was created and submitted to President Lagos.
[296] On a personal note, as a later participant in the stadium project, I can attest to the tension that has continued between these two opposing factions.

was the principal state representative and public face in the proposal process, Chile Sports of the National Institute of Sports as the proprietor and administrator of the stadium also had a stake. The sports institution also needed to sign off for the approval of the petition. As the two grassroots groups struggled against one another, the state organisms tried to coordinate. Cabeza contacted Mario Cerda Allende, advisor to Minister Vidal on June 23, "In order to advance with the declaratory process… the opinion of the proprietor, in this case Director of Chile Sports, Mr. Ernesto Velasco, is required." On July 3 Mr. Valesco requested from Cabeza all of the relative documents, "including the proposal, the archive of documents of Mr. Insunza, and the plan that defines the affected zones of the declaration in order to determine with certainty its future reach and implications within our modernization plan of the National Stadium." Valesco and Chile Sports were updating the stadium's 1997 normative planning document to coincide with stadium's upgrades to celebrate Chile's 2010 Bicentennial.[297] Eventually, Valesco would support the national monument proposal and, later, be held accountable to it when Chile Sports submitted the proposal updates under a new Master Plan National Stadium Sports Park. In the meantime, the institution added another dimension to state's stake-holders and another actor that the grassroots groups had to contend with.

On August 21, the architects Woywood and Rodríguez presented their proposal to the Council in a meeting that elaborated on their May 16 application. They advocated the urban, architectural, and historic values of the stadium, while requesting official protection to preserve three stadium sites connected to the human rights violations in 1973. They invoked

[297] This planning also foreshadowed the work that President Michelle Bachelet committed to in order to upgrade a series of stadiums throughout Chile, including the National Stadium and municipal ones in Rancangua, Valpaíriso, and Antofogasta

the urban planner Karl Brunner, who was responsible for the stadium's creation in 1938, as well as the architects who worked next to Brunner. The architects explained that the stadium had been a modernizing feature of Chile's changing urban landscape and national ambitions, inserting itself as a "significant icon within in our collective identity." According to the meeting minutes prepared by Council architect Christian Matzner, the Council concluded that "The National Stadium of Chile is declared a National Monument in the category of Historic Monument."[298] Shortly after, the National Television of Chile (TVN) aired a special segment on its news program about the declaratory process and the accompanying human rights museum. TVN featured only Woywood and Rodríguez, indicating the pair as the principal drivers of the newly recognized national monument.

On September 11, 2003 Minister Bitar signed into the law the historic monument designation of the stadium. The language lettered in the law smoothed over the lived tensions and emotions that had defined the proposal process. The state accepted the stadium was a national monument because of the "*solicitud* of Ms. Claudia Woywood and Mr. Marcelo Rodríguez, [with] attaching technical information;[299] approximately five-hundred letters of support submitted by Mr. Sebastian Insunza in name of the Project Committee 'National Stadium, National Memory,' of which are from congressman, representatives from professional guilds, human rights, cultural, social, and student organizations, Chilean residents in exile, among others; [and] support from the National Institute of Sports." Though the national monument designation was an important step for the public history of the stadium, it hardly relieved the memory struggles that existed between the actors involved.

[298] Minutes ffrom the August 21 Council meeting that confirmed that the National Stadium would be named a National Monument. Minutes are archived at the Council of National Monuments.
[299] Project plans for Open Museum, Site of Memory and Homage.

Chile Sports, the Project Committee 'National Stadium, National Memory,' and the architects Woywood and Rodríguez all would continue to struggle against one another in the coming years. The struggles inspired the involvement of Chilean congressmen and women soon thereafter. Updates and modernization work at the stadium, too, would draw in a host of other hands, including President Michelle Bachelet's human rights advisor and the Ministry of Public Works.

The national monument designation relieved the state of its moral responsibility to the memory of the 1973 concentration camp. In a utilitarian way the state could offer the stadium as a national monument as evidence of being sensitive to the demands of civil society which, in turn, advanced democratic transition narratives. It also incorporated the stadium's other social, cultural, urban, and historic values, deflecting attention from the initial impetus of the proposal: the 1973 stadium-as-concentration camp. Interestingly, neither the Council of National Monuments nor Chile Sports bothered to mark the stadium physically with a plaque or other type of designation. In many ways, the national monument designation bookended the state's commitment to the memory of human rights violations at the stadium, and it was the grassroots activists who were left to sustain it. The state took credit for the monument, civil society responsible for the museum.

Where Bitar heralded the collective scope of actors and institutions involved during the process to declare the stadium a national monument on September 11, he betrayed this seemingly seamless process with a personal letter to the Woywood and Rodríguez in December.

> Along with cordially saluting you, I want to share with you the agreeable decision to declare the National Stadium as a National Monument, which was approved on August 21 at a Council of National Monuments meeting.
>
> The permanent project intervention of the National Stadium, named by you "Open Museum: Site of Memory and Homage," that accompanied the *solicitud*, is without doubt an architectural proposal of great value with an historic foundation faithfully documented… I wanted to… congratulate you for this invaluable project that, I hope, can be implemented at the National Stadium complex. In the same way, [I also offer] thanks for the force and special interest that you put forth in the period previous to the declaration of the Stadium as National Monument.[300]

The minister's hope to see the implementation of the museum project did not translate into concrete institutional or financial support. Though the national monument declaration designed a December 31, 2005 deadline to implement the architects' intervention, the lack of explicit, dedicated resources complicated by the still sour tensions amongst the activists stalled Open Museum: Site of Memory and Homage.

Behind the public scenes of the stadium immediately after the 2003 declaration conversations continued between the Council and Chile Sports regarding the new normative plan for the stadium. As early as September 28, 2003, the two state organisms established dialogue about the Master Plan National Stadium Sports Park. The Council reminded Chile Sports of the new regulations that came with the September 11 declaration.[301] A year later, Chile Sports submitted a Master Plan to the Council—which included the installation of a public park replete with fountains and an artificial lake, but made no mention of the planned human rights museum or conservation of the protected-preserved sites established with the national monument designation. As plans advanced to make physical changes to the stadium, the Council noted discrepancies. It cited inconsistencies between Chile Sports

[300] Minister Bitar letter to Woywood and Rodríguez, December 3, 2003. Letter is archived at the Council of National Monuments.
[301] Angel Cabeza commuique to Ernesto Valesco, September 28, 2003. Communique archived at the Council of National Monuments.

Master Plan proposal and the regulations set forth by the historic monument Decree No. 00710. The Council also appeared concerned about the Master Plan's inclusion of Woywood and Rodríguez's museum project—wanting to know if "the project Open Museum: Site of Memory and Homage, whose objective was to preserve the historic value of the emblematic place in our collective memory and to commemorate the victims of human rights violations… Will the submitted Master Plan recognize this enhancement (*puesta en valor*) or a part of it?"[302]

In an unplanned way Chile Sports' new Master Plan's non-compliance with the national monument designation protection brought back the feuding factions of civil society. As the two state organisms went back-and-forth about the new normative document concerning the stadium, Kunstmann continued her commitment to the stadium, despite Woywood and Rodríguez's earmakred Open Museum: Site of Memory and Homage. On April 12, 2005, Kunstmann sounded the activists' alarm. She wrote to the Council

> Mr. Cabeza, with worry we have received news regarding the National Stadium Sports Park, in the elaboration stage by Chile Sports… Clearly we are not worried about the elaboration of such a plan, but that it does not comply with the objectives put forth in the declaration regarding the protected memory sites related to human rights violations.[303]

So concerned was Kunstmann that she sent a letter to Bitar six days later. In it she requested an audience with the Minister who two years earlier had signed the stadium into law as a national monument. Evidence does not suggest that Bitar responded to the request. But what did follow the letter in middle of the month to the Minister was another at the end of the month; this one from Rodríguez to the Council. Rather than decrying the inconsistencies

[302] Susana de Groote communique to Ernesto Valesco, September 13, 2004. Communique archived at the Council of National Monuments.
[303] Wally Kuntsmann letter to Angel Cabeza, April 12, 2005. Letter archived at the Council of National Monuments.

contained in the Master Plan proposal, he re-affirmed the commitment to and importance of Open Memory: Site of Memory and Homage.

> Effectively, after submitting the declaratory application of the National Monument of the sports complex to the Council of National Monuments in May 2003, we focused on letting people know about our proposal, holding meetings and submitting in every instance a copy of the proposal which we had submitted to the Council of National Monuments. As such, we shared the ideas and contents of our proposal in a direct and complete manner, in the perspective of solidly positing the them and to obtain informed support for the initiative.

Rodríguez also requested an immediate meeting with the Council to discuss recent developments with the museum project and Chile Sport's Master Plan proposal.[304]

In 2005, Chile Sports, the Council, Kunstmann, and Woywood and Rodríguez came together again. At stake this time was the normative document for future uses of the stadium, its compliance with the 2003 national monument declaration, and the museum project slated to mark the protected sites of memory within the stadium's grounds. Nearly two years had passed and the only visible result of the national monument designation was a book published by the Council in 2004, *Three View of the National Stadium: History, Sports, Architecture*. That publication credited Woywood and Rodríguez as responsible for the national monument petition process. It recognized their museum project to be implemented at the stadium. It also toted the collaboration between state institutions and grassroots groups. But the inaction to implement the museum immediately after the monument declaration would prove costly and boil into a new dispute. In early May, 2005, Cabeza sent separate yet similar communiques to Chile Sports, Kunstmann, and Woywood and Rodríguez. Cabeza echoed to Chile Sports the necessity to make the Master Plan comply

[304] Marcelo Rodríguez etter to Council architect Christian Matzner, April 26, 2005. Letter archived at the Council of National Monuments.

with the regulations set on September 11, 2003. He queried again if the Master Plan will recognize this *puesta en valor* of Open Museum: Site of Memory and Homage?[305]

Cabeza differed his correspondence to the grassroots activists. He confirmed that the Chile Sport's "Master Plan doesn't incorporate the enhancement (*puesta en valor*) articulated in Decree No. 00710 of September 11, 1973." He explained that Chile Sports would need to resubmit the Master Plan in accordance with national monument declaration. The Council's director also looked to assuage potential conflicts:

> We are certain that the initiative of Chile Sports to improve the conditions of the sports and recreational installations at the National Stadium… are perfectly compatible with the realization of the *puesta en valor* of the sites of memory related with human rights violations. Proof of this has been the recently published book, "Thee views of the National Stadium of Chile: History, Sports, Architecture," which relied on the professional participation of both institutions.[306]

As Chile Sports worked to shore up inconsistencies in the Master Plan and the Council tried to keep the stake-holders abreast with information, Kunstmann exploited the new developments. The president of the human rights organization contracted the architects Alexandra Buzhynsha and Marcel Colomo to create a rival museum project to consider against Open Museum: Site of Memory and Homage for the Master Plan. Kunstmann had increased the presence of the human rights organization she directed at the stadium, having former prisoners return to share memories and stories. As early as April 7, 2004, Kunstmann was returning to the stadium with RMEPP members. As part of this, the human rights organization also worked with the Department of Anthropology at the University of Chile to

[305] Susana de Groote communique to Ernesto Valesco, September 13, 2004. Communique archived at the Council of National Monuments.
[306] Angel Cabeza communiques to Marcelo Rodríguez and Wally Kuntsmann, May 11, 2005. Communiques archived at the Council of National Monuments.

create an audio-visual archive of the former prisoners.[307] So strong was Kuntsmann's commitment to the stadium that by 2006 the new director of the Council of National Monuments, Óscar Acuña Poblate, endorsed RMEPP for the prestigious Premio Rey de Espana de Derechos Humanos. He wrote in his endorsement

> In this context [of the Historic Monument declaration] as much as the directives of the National Stadium as an institution, we have in the works a Master Plan to guarantee the *puesta en valor* of the National Stadium Historic Monument, and to that end, the participation of the members of the Metropolitan Region of Ex Political Prisoners, has been fundamental. The work that they have done to show signs of the [camp] systemization and knowledge about what occurred in the National Stadium and how is necessary to recovery memory.[308]

By the time Poblate endorsed RMEPP, the Project Committee National Stadium, National Memory had submitted to the Council and Chile Sports the museum project drafted to oppose Open Museum: Site of Memory and Homage. Similar in content the project designed by Buzhynsha and Colomo expanded in scope by submitting more sites within the stadium grounds to mark. First unveiled in October 2005, the project was named National Stadium, National Memory. The make-up of the original members of the Committee under the same name, however, had changed. Insunza and Vergara—and by extension Tohá—were not involved. Nor was Commission FUNA-HIJOS. National Stadium, National Memory had become the pet project of RMEPP's Kunstmann.[309]

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[307] This same year, RMEPP also published the testimonial book *Cien Voces Rompen el Silencio*, which counted ten testimonies of the National Stadium.

[308] Endorsement sent from the Council of National Monuments to the King of Spain Human Rights Prize, given by the Spain's Defensor del Pueblo, which "is the High Commission of the General Courts charged with the defense of fundamental rights and public liberties of citizens by means of supervising the activity of public administrations." For award history and information, http://premioddhh.defensordelpueblo.es/historia.html; for the Defensor del Pueblo, http://www.defensordelpueblo.es/es/Quienes/Que/index.html

[309] It is difficult to demonstrate through archival evidence that Kunstmann was principal voice behind National Stadium, National Memory, the oral evidence in interviews and observer-participation indicates this. However, documents between 2002 and 2012 archived in the Council of National Monument show different names associated with the Project Committee National Stadium, National Memory at different times.

With the approval of a new Master Plan pending on its compliance with respecting the human rights protected sites, grassroots group struggled to claim responsibility for the museum project. Woywood and Rodríguez continued to advocate for the project they submitted with the *Solicitud* in 2003; Kunstmann went forth with the newly designed National Stadium, National Memory in 2005. In January of 2006 the Council confirmed in a vague way to Chile Sports that

> The present proposal of the enhancement (*puesta en valor*) of the sites connected to human rights violations, however in its first stage and without a definitive project, has been received by the Council before the due date of December 31, 2005, in accordance with the Historic Monument decree. With this, the possibility remains open to secure financing for the enhancement in the present year.[310]

The apparent backtracking against a "definitive project" once set aside as Open Museum: Site of Memory and Homage also included recognition of the recommendations advanced by Kunstmann. The January 9, 2006 letter from the Council to Chile Sports did not echo its earlier support for Woywood and Rodríguez and, instead, synthesized components of each museum project without naming either specifically.

It would take Chile Sports another eleven months to resubmit a Master Plan that complied with the stipulations set by the national monument declaration. When it did, the state organism offered as proof that it "worked with the Human Rights Association [RMEPP]" to iron out *in situ* wrinkles in order to respect the stadium sites connected to human rights violations. In effect, the resubmitted Master Plan reflected the visions found in National Stadium, National Memory, not Open Museum: Site of Memory and Homage. Kunstmann continued the momentum on April 20, 2007 when she sent two separate letters to

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Kunstmann is the only continuous member. After 2005, Insunza's name appears once as a member of the new project committee. Alejandra Lopez would return to the project as a part-time collaborator.

[310] Council of National Monument letter to the National Institute of Sports, January 9, 2006. Letter archived at the Council of National Monuments.

the Council and Chile Sports. She requested from both organizations all relevant documents concerning the Master Plan and the enhancement (*puesta en valor*) of the sites connected to human rights violations in order to advance the development of National Stadium, National Memory. She lamented that "we have not had the desired fluidity and collaboration" while also injecting that National Stadium, National Memory sought to include more sites for memorial interventions. The request culminated into a visit to the National Stadium on June 8 by Kunstmann, Buzhynska, and Colomo, Irmgard Kaiser of Chile Sports, National Stadium administrators Claudia Castro and Silvana Scanella, and the historian Soledad Silva and architect Christian Matzner of the Council of National Monuments. Conspicuously absent were Woywood and Rodríguez. From that visit the group determined to preserve in their "actual condition" the sites outlined in National Stadium, National Memory.[311] On September 6 of the same year, the Project Committee National Stadium, National Memory—this time comprised of Kunstmann, Buzhynska, Colomo, and collaborating architects Carlos Duran and Claudio Guerra—formally submitted an updated project "National Stadium, National Memory—Master Plan and *Escotilla* 8." While Kunstmann and company made inroads at the Council and Chile Sports, members of the human rights organization also participated in various public encounters and conferences promoting the museum project. Additionally, during 2007 Kunstmann attended meetings in relation to the National Stadium at the Council, participated in the "Encounter of Sites of Memory" led by Villa Grimaldi Park for Peace, and presented National Stadium, National Memory to the International Conference Memorialization and Democracy: State Policy and Civic Action.

[311] These sites included the stands immediately outside of *Escotilla* 8, Locker Room 3, and the areas of stands outside of Locker Room 3.

RMEPP's historic memory work regarding the stadium-as-concentration camp came to a head when the Council formerly replaced support from Open Museum: Site of Memory and Homage for National Stadium, National Memory—Master Plan and Site *Escotilla* 8. Acuña affirmed to Kunstmann, "We want to reiterate… that the professionals at the Executive Secretary are available to support you technically in everything that is necessary to achieve the implementation of this important enhancement."[312] He also recommended that Kunstmann could seek potential financing opportunities from the Ley de Donaciones con Fines Culturales. Three months later the Council's architectural team offered a positive review of portions of the museum project. The Council validated the strategy to persevere *Escotilla* 8 and recognized ten proposed interventions throughout the stadium's grounds. Despite this positive review, the Council's architectural team also cited that the interventions appeared isolated and suggested to make them more neutral.

The explicit signal of support for National Stadium, National Memory by the Council of National Monuments jeopardized the museum project of Woywood and Rodríguez. Archival records do not indicate any communication between the two architects and the Council during 2006 and 2007. But on January 15, five days after the Council confirmed support for Kunstmann's National Stadium, National Memory, ten *Concertación* politicians proposed to Chile's Chamber of Congress (*Cámara de Diputados*) a law "To Create at the National Stadium the Open Museum: Site of Memory and Homage" where "the idea for this project corresponds to the initiative of the architects Claudia Woywood and Marcelo

[312] Oscar Acuña communique to Wally Kunstmann, October 17, 2007. Communique archived at the Council of National Monuments.

Rodríguez."[313] Marked as Boletín Nr. 5713-17, the political group headed by Tucapel Jiménez resorted to the by then well-worn justifications to create the museum: "That the National Stadium converted into a center of detention and torture, [where] more than forty thousand people passed," the Red Cross's confirmation of executions, the emblematic North American cases of Charles Horman and Frank Teruggi, and, ultimately, a general context that recognized "the rescue of historic memory" and that the corresponding "memorials… are an expression of the memory of our country; they are without doubt a part of our language, a form of expression." The law called for a commission to implement Woywood and Rodríguez's museum vision, which would consist of representatives of human rights groups, non-governmental organizations, members of congress, and a representative from the successor agency of the Vicariate of Solidarity. Also outlined was a sustained commitment for financing. The urgency on behalf of Woywood and Rodríguez to secure with a new law the status of Open Museum: Site of Memory and Homage was also reflected in a lengthy letter sent to the Council on January 23, 2008. The architects bemoaned the fact that almost five years after the acceptance of their museum project and the national monument designation, nothing had been physically installed at the stadium. They also signaled specifically the support offered by Minister Bitar and the Council's *Three Views of the National Stadium* in order to provide evidence that their museum project was approved and preferred. Kunstmann countered these claims in April, citing the prolonged absence of the two architects from the stadium project and highlighting the continuing presence of RMEPP

[313] Boletín Nr. 5713-17, Crea en el Estadio Nacional el "Museo abierto, sitio de memory y homenaje" en conmemoración a las víctimas torturadas y asesinadas por la dictadura del General Pinochet, January 15, 2008

at the stadium. She reinforced this by recognizing that Chile Sport had worked exclusively with RMEPP in order to win approval for the stadium's new normative Master Plan.[314]

As the two grassroots groups competed to establish the primacy of their respective museum projects, María Luisa Sepulveda—the human rights advisor to Bachelet—summoned the stadium's stake-holders to a meeting on June 9, 2008. High-level members from Bachelet's government sat to hear arguments in order to determine with finality which project would be responsible for the human rights museum at the National Stadium. It concluded with an emotional outburst of former stadium prisoner and RMEPP member Lelia Pérez against the architects Woywood and Rodríguez. Woywood remembered her saying, "I was in the bathrooms… you aren't anybody to make a [museum] project at that place."[315] Spent, the two architects retreated from the prolonged battle. From that day forward priority was rewarded to the museum project National Stadium, National Memory. Though it would take another year to finalize museum project, it was approved in full on February 24, 2010.

[314] The Committee signatures included Kunstmann, Insunza, and López
[315] Claudia Woywood interview with author, April, 2012. Transcipts and recording in posseion of author.

Chapter VI: The National Stadium-as-Concentration Camp, A Public Memorial of Struggle in the post-2003 Environment

Activists, artists, and more actors' expressions of memory. Un-silencing the past. Scholarly work emerges Houses of horror and human rights work. Memorialization and democracy. Public memorials and physical sites of memory. National Stadium, National Memory. Memory entrepreneurs. Popular and professional work.

On April 17, 2004, Wally Kunstmann and Lelia Perez, participants in the original National Stadium Committee (Chapter 5), returned to the stadium with members of the human rights organization that Kunstmann directed, Metropolitan Region of Ex Political Prisoners (RMEPP). More than a dozen former stadium prisoners met at the principal entrance of the stadium, where, in 1973, fortunate prisoners met freedom and anxious family members waited. In 2004, RMEPP members entered the gates and traced the perimeter of the principal coliseum. They walked through the stadium's bowels where they had been incarcerated: the locker rooms, *escotillas*, and bathrooms. They emerged from inside the stadium to the running track and soccer field, filing up through the grandstands. At each stop, the former prisoners used the physical characteristics of the stadium to tell stories, to offer testimony. In a locker room, one former prisoner compared it to a chicken coop, where the imprisoned were the chickens waiting to be brought out for slaughter. From the stadium seats, another prisoner testified about Cardinal Silva's stadium visit, how at that moment prisoners felt for the first time words and feelings of humanity. Before entering the stadium proper, a middle-aged man was moved to tears as he told how the women suffered more than all others, "They were the greatest victims of the repression… and from my deepest insides, I feel for all those who disappeared."[316]

[316] Un Viaje por la Memoria, documentary short produced by Andrea Chomorro Pérez and Juan Pablo Donoso Allende.

The post-2003 environment saw new expressions and popular memory projects at the stadium, as well as transformations in established rituals such as the annual *velatón* (Chapter 4). Much more than assuaging the memories of 1973 at the site, the national monument designation the year before contributed to the continued making and unmaking of competing narratives. Old and new stakeholders came together to clash and collaborate. Issues of authority and ownership exacerbated. Some of the grassroots activists—such as Kunstmann and Perez—who had pushed for the national monument declaration continued vigorously with commemorative events and stadium related projects; others stepped away. Newcomers such as students from University of Chile's department of anthropology collaborated with RMEPP members to create an audio-visual archive for the human rights group. In 2005, Javier Bertin of the Cinema School of Chile wrote and produced *El Panuelo del Estadio Nacional*, a twenty-five minute documentary about the encounter between Chilean and Bolivian prisoners through the prism of Santiago Cabieres's *panuelo*, or handkerchief (Chapter 2). The documentary included members from Bertin's institution, stadium prisoners who had experienced the Chilean-Bolivian act of solidarity, and National Stadium administrators and staff. In that same year, the journalist Pascale Bonnefoy published the most complete account of the stadium's tragic fifty-eight days, *Terrorismo de estadio: Prisioneros de Guerra en un campo de deportes*; this, after conducting research about the stadium-as-concentration camp in the service of Joyce Horman, Charles Horman's widow. In 2006, after two years of planning, Chilean artist Sebastián Errázuriz planted a thirty-foot magnolia tree in the center of the soccer field, a two week public art event which ended with a friendly soccer match played around the magnolia.[317] In a pre-meditated act in 2008, a

[317] The artist conceded that he had worked independently, not in the name of human rights, to benefit a local children's organization. However, his sensitivities to and sensibilities of the human rights violations in 1973

Santiago university collective trained by the Argentine activist Fernando Traverso would spray the stadium walls with the Traverso's famed bike-silhouettes in order to mark it as a former site of death and disappearance.[318]

Despite these new expressions of and a measurable uptick in diverse memory projects at the stadium, the human rights museum slated for the stadium in 2003 stalled. Not a commemorative plaque was to be had, nor historic signage spelling out the stadium's newly assumed patrimonial value. A memorial was not enshrined, nor a monument erected. The National Stadium Committee's schism continued to squelch officials' support, though the state touted the stadium's patrimonial success as proof of Chile's deepening democracy. In 2004, the Council of National Monuments published *Three Views of the National Stadium: History, Sports, Architecture* describing the stadium as "a friend of many" and the process to declare it a national monument as "recognizing and protecting a property of primary importance from the perspective of our social, political and sports history, which certainly has won a place in the collective memory of the country."[319] Meanwhile, as part of the run-up to Chile's 2010 bicentennial, the stadium was selected for modernization upgrades as part of the country's major public works program.[320] In an ironic way, the new modernization improvements helped expose the stadium's scar at a time when architect Marcelo Rodríguez, also an original National Stadium Committee participant, argued that it hadn't been enough

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were clear from the onset. He used the "symbolic power" of the stadium's dark history to juxtapose against his "tree of life." Sebastian Errázurriz interview conducted with author, January 12, 2013. A review of Errázuriz's CV today, however, describes the project "The Memorial Tree of a Concentration Camp." See, http://www.meetsebastian.com/78905/710850/public-art/tree

[318] See author's introduction to "Letters from Chile" for background on Traverso's Bike Memorials, http://publichistorycommons.org/letters-from-chile-the-working-of-history-at-six-sites-of-memory/

[319] *Tres Miradas al Estadio Nacional: Historia, Deporte, Arquitectura*, Introduction

[320] Then President Michelle Bachelet selected the National Stadium and smaller municipal stadiums throughout the country for upgrades and alterations as part of Chile's bicentennial celebration.

to declare the stadium a national monument in2003—it had to be activated with and interpreted by physical reminders in 2008.

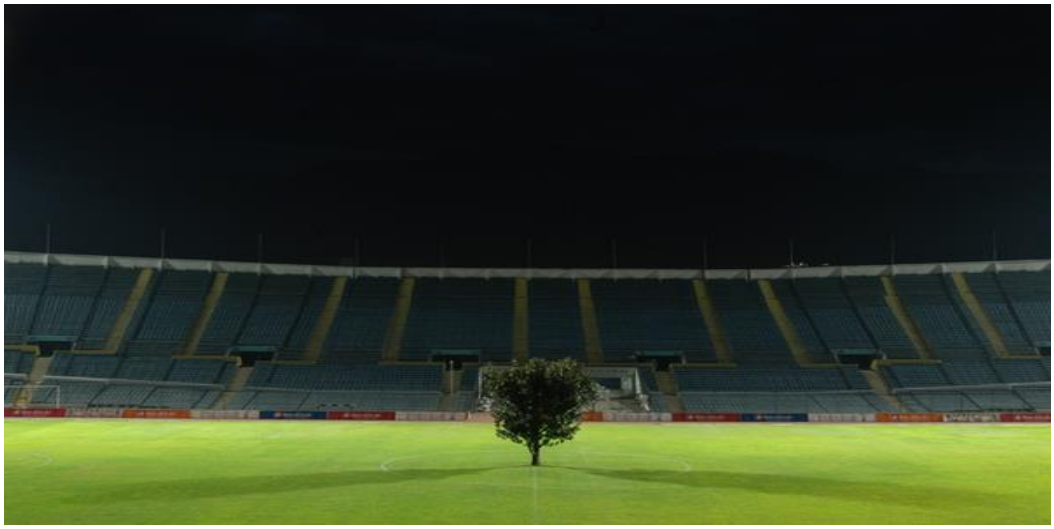

Figure 5. Sebastian Errázuriz's "Tree Memorial of a Concentration Camp." Courtesy Errázuriz.

With the absence of physical or permanent markers at the stadium, the expanding expressions of popular memory, and the state's increased involvement at the stadium, more scholarly labor began to appear about the stadium-as-concentration camp after 2003. U.S. political scientist and scholar-activist Katherine Hite launched this labor when she published "Chile's National Stadium: As Monument, as Memorial" as a critique of the recently completed national monument designation. This well-timed synopsis described the stadium's entry into the "official realm of memory" as an instrumentalist act by the state to harness the grassroots groups who pushed for the monument designation. She focused further analysis on the monument component of the 2003 declaration, Open Museum, Site of Memory and Homage, "to preserve, commemorate, educate, and project… [it] will recover fragments and remnants of the presence of the prisoners, including 'a tour through the

property and emblematic sites.'"[321] In the memorial realm, Hite likened the challenge to conceptualize it as such to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington DC and Argentina's El Olimpo, "memorials [that] become contested terrain between a state, anxious to convey unity in the face of past polarization and state repression, and a society in which no one account of the past in universally shared." Hite's article, republished in Spanish in Patricia Verdugo's 2004 *De la tortura no se habla*, foreshadowed the positioning of the stadium camp in the growing social science literature attentive to sites of memory and conscience in Chile and elsewhere.

Though the immediate aftermath of the national monument decree did not see any immediate physical changes to the site, the stadium was fundamentally altered as activists, officials, and scholars continued to make and unmake memory narratives at the National Stadium. As civil society voiced louder calls for physical interventions, the state increased its stake-holders interested in memorialization and modernization projects, and scholarly work reflected on these developments, they merged as part of a larger movement unfolding in Chile: the proliferation of human rights public memorials. Between 2003 and 2010, the nation's thirtieth anniversary of the military coup and the twenty-year mark of democracy and the country's bicentennial celebration, respectively, "[memory] entrepreneurs with distinct memories of the human rights violations" experimented in diverse ways to "mark territory" with unofficial and official memorials. These included commemorative marches, graffiti, candle light vigils, and public art and theatre events. Explained Loreto Lopéz of the Villa Grimaldi Park for Peace, the popular perceptions of (incomplete) reparations in the

[321] The monument component, "Open Museum, Site of Memory and Homage," was never built; see Chapter 5

new democracy "had given form to a *public space of memory*" where actions to mark territory by civil society members pushed against or coalesced with state policy. [322]

The post-2003 environment in Chile saw a significant increase in public memorials initiated by human rights victims and their allies. These memorials received broader, though still perceptively marginal, support from the state. Under President Ricardo Lagos's 2003 There is No Tomorrow without Yesterday program, it became clear that symbolic reparations needed to play a larger role in the process of reconciliation and democracy building. Two years later, Lagos introduced legislation to establish the National Institute of Human Rights. Lagos's initial program and later national institute—finally ratified in 2009 under President Michelle Bachelet—established relationships with distinct human rights organizations to implement a "policy of reparation"—*política de reparación*. These statist initiatives were welcomed by some groups who received partial-financing and state support for certain public memorials; others rejected these state efforts as not going far enough. However, these mixed reviews could not ignore Lagos's intent to follow the recommendations set by Chile's two truth commissions. In 1991 the Rettig Report had recommended

> To construct a remembrance monument that individualizes all of the human rights victims and the fallen of one or another side, and to construct a public park in memory of the victims and fallen that will serve as a place of commemoration and education, and also a place of recreation and reaffirmation of a culture of life.

In 2004, in a similar yet expanded vein, the Valech Report suggested

> The declaration of the principal centers of torture as national monuments and the creation of memorials and remembrance sites of the victims of violence of human rights and political violence… [such as] the erection of a remembrance monument in

[322] Loreto López, "De centro de detención a sitios de memoria," Villa Grimaldi Park for Peace, undated article

> a central place of Santiago, as the capital of the country, that symbolizes this commitment.[323]

By the first half of Chile's second decade of democracy, the state began to take a larger role in the majority of public memorial initiatives in the post-dictatorship landscape. Pushed by social actors' actions and insistence on complying with truth commission recommendations, state organisms such as the Council of National Monuments, the Ministry of National Properties, and later, the National Institute of Human Rights helped more than hindered the democratic developments around sites of memory. By 2007, a FLASCO-Chile report counted one-hundred and six of these memorial sites in Santiago, while a 2008 study by *Domeysko Sociedad y Equidad: memorias, historias y derechos humanos* at the University of Chile put the number at two hundred and thirty-nine.

The numbers of these two studies were significant, demonstrating the increase in the geography of Stern's "memory knots" in the urban landscape. But the studies were also significant in their own right: efforts to analyze, offer insights, and establish conceptual frameworks for public memorials and processes of memorialization. Contributors to these conventions to memorialize human rights victims came from an array of academic fields, with some of the scholars participating actively in individual memorial initiatives. [324] FLACSO-Chile's 2007 report, "Human Rights Memorials in Chile: Homages to the Victims of Human Rights Violations between 1973 and 1990," categorized the growing number of memorials in three ways: memorials sustained by victims family members at such places as cemeteries or places where victims' bodies were found; those constructed in plazas and parks

[323] The Valech Report was also part of Lagos's No Hay Manana Sin Ayer Program. The report is regarded as the most comprehensive review of the state torturing its citizens in the world.

[324] For transitional justice (Zalaquett 1990, Bickford 2001, 2002, 2007); social-psychology (Lira 2002, 2004, Lira and Loveman 2000; Piper, et al, 2008); political science (Aguero 2008, Hite 2008, 2011, Collins 2009); cultural theory (Richard, 2010); sociology (Jelin, 2002, 2007, Aguilera and Badilla, 2010); and history (Stern, 2006, Garces 2006, Salazaar 2010).

in order to reach a broad public; and "institutional" markers meant to memorialize groups of colleagues such as students, workers, doctors, and journalists."[325] The report left special consideration for the only "four memorials that signal and mark a place of repression: a plaque at the National Stadium, Victor Jara Stadium (formerly Chile Stadium), the memorial in José Domingo Canas, and the Villa Grimaldi Park for Peace."[326] In the same year, using the report, FLACSO-Chile partnered with the Ministry of National Properties to publish *Memorials in Chile: Homages to the Victims of Human Rights Violations*, containing the work of renowned Chilean photographer Alejandro Hoppe. Along with dramatic, colored photographs of seventy public memorials spanning the length and breadth of Chile, the Ministry's director Romy Schmidt—who would later become the first director of the Museum of Memory and Human Rights (2010)—asserted memory was "a fundamental guarantee of democracy."

While the National Stadium served as an early example of the memorialization processes at and creation of a site of memory between 1998 and 2003, the post-2003 environment saw expanded uses and more competing, if not sometimes complementary, narratives about it. Meanwhile, contributors to the new conventions of human rights public memorials generally and the stadium more specifically came from civil society, the state, and scholarly institutions. In 2007, representatives from these groups came together to participate in Santiago's international conference *Memorialization and Democracy: State Policy and Civic Action*. The conference was comprised of grassroots activists, artists, scholars, state officials, and museum directors, among others, from over twenty different

[325] Facultad Latinoamerican de Ciencias Sociales—Chile

[326] This reference is to the memorial plaque spearheaded by Carmen Luz Parot and *Estadio Nacional* collaborators, though implied the national monument status. That is, the memorial plaque came two years before the 2003 declaration and involved distinct memory entrepreneurs.

nations. It convened to discuss the different ways diverse communities used "public memorialization as central to justice, reconciliation, truth-telling, reparation, and coming to grips with the past." Conference organizers—FLACSO-Chile, the International Center for Transitional Justice, and the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience—specifically chose Chile for the three day encounter because the country proved a "unique and invaluable venue for this international discussion, as it provided concrete examples of the dilemmas, challenges, and issues discussed." The case for Chile's uniqueness rested in the fact that it had "made exciting progress in reconstructing memory of gross human rights violations" and because, "as so often been the case in the past, the Chilean experience is instructive for other countries."[327]

The final report for the *Memorialization and Democracy* conference began by stating that "In the past few decades public memorials such as historic sites, monuments, and museums; certain public art or conceptual art projects; and commemorative events or performances have become critical elements in current struggles for human rights and democracy." Under this rubric, memorialization—or the process of creating public memorials—played a "central role in the direction and shape of civic life and politics" in Chile, as much as other nations and communities reeling in the wake of political violence, state terrorism, and genocide. Though the conference's principal aim focused on collaborative relationships between the state and civil society actors with the ultimate goal "to reflect on the potential role of public policy in supporting memorial initiatives," it offered a road map for a wide-array of memorial possibilities. These "forms and processes" showed how public memorials in Chile reflected formal civic traditions as much as more popular

[327] Brett, et al, "Memorialization and Democracy: State Policy and Civic Action," Conference Report, Santiago de Chile, June 20-22, 2007

expressions of remembrance in public places. An effectively placed and well-utilized memorial would commemorate victims of human rights violations *and* inspire dialogue about pressing issues in the present. But public memorials also carried contradictions, inconsistencies, and competing views from interested stakeholders. In one sense, public memorials could unite certain communities around a conflicted past while alienating or undermining other sectors of the same community. In another sense, the inherent conflicts residing in the forms and processes of public memorials could be considered necessary to keeping struggles for memory alive.

The memorialization process at the National Stadium between 1998 and 2003helped form the groundwork for the increase in Chile's public memorial-scape immediately thereafter. FLASCO-Chile faculty member and social psychologist Isabel Piper had published extensively on memorialization processes in Chile, declaring at a Villa Grimaldi-led seminar in 2009 that

> In the last few years we have been witnesses to initiatives made by multiple social groups to construct spaces in and with those to remember the violence of the dictatorship… monuments, memorials and distinct remembrance elements that look to materialize a particular link between past, present and future, appropriating and inhabiting certain spaces by means of remembrance that bestow upon them a sense of the past, that is to say, converting them into places (*lugares*) of memory.[328]

Piper had led a two-year investigation between 2007 and 2009 in which her team observed and participated in memorialization forms and processes with twenty-six human rights organizations. Though the study centered on the "relation that exists between the places and the movements and groups that use them [the places] to make memory," it offered insightful conclusions for scholars and practitioners alike. Piper's investigative team concluded that

[328] Isabel Piper's 2009 report on "Usos del espacio, Identidades Sociales y Políticas del Recuerdo: Análisis Psicosocial de Lugares de Memoria de los Conflictos Violentos de Nuestro Pasado reciente" at the conference *Procesos de memoria, ciudanía y recuperación de lugares de conciencia*," October 15-16, 2009.

"spaces of remembrance" are part and parcel of Chile's "memorial patrimony" and that, taken together, they impact collective memories and social identities. Principally, for Piper, "making memory" was a social action and the action was necessary to convert a certain site into a site of memory. Therefore, sites of memory, like the actors who employ actions (protest, commemoration, points of encounter) at them, were dynamic, always changing. In the same sense, memory as a social action brought the intimacy of the past to the immediacy of the present, "and it tells us who we are now, of our worries, our pains, happiness and dreams."

Piper's position, similar to FLACSO-Chile's 2007 report on public memorials, distinguished different types of sites of memory, reserving special consideration for "places where violent events such as torture or assassination and/or acts of resistance against the military regime happened." Though Chile counted over 200 public memorials and/or sites of memory, only a select few had been created at sites physically connected to human rights violations. Pre-dating the public memorial boom in Chile's second decade of democracy, human rights activists and engaged neighbors began this process in the Peñololen neighborhood of Santiago where they organized in the mid-1990s against the destruction—or deliberate erasure—of the former DINA secret prison camp Cuartel Terranova, better known as Villa Grimaldi. They created the neighborhood organization Assembly Peñololen and La Reina to advocate for the protection and preservation of the former torture site. On December 19, 1994—International Human Rights Day—official decree ceded the property to community activists. Afterwards, and with much contention and debate about what to do with the recovered property, activists ultimately imagined a park for remembrance for those directly affected and reflection for those interested in learning about state sponsored

terrorism.[329] Stake-holders inaugurated the now internationally recognized Villa Grimaldi Park for Peace on March 22, 1997. Since then, the former toxic site has turned into a leading steward in Chile's public battle over the memory of the human rights violations committed between 1973 and 1990.

Figure 5. Recovery efforts at Cuartel Terranova, circa 1994. Courtesy Villa Grimaldi Park for Peace.

Since the recovery of Villa Grimaldi, a movement emerged "to identify, signal, recover, preserve, and open to the public"[330] what Stern has called "houses of horror" in Chile. This movement has been based both in a moral and political imperative, transforming once toxic sites into centers of historical activism. Through these emotional, politicized

[329] See www.villagrimaldi.cl; These dramatics were later re-interpreted in the theatrical play Villa + Discurso (2012) in which three women actors representing original neighborhood activists debated emotionally, politically, and in very personal ways distinct visions of the recovered site.

[330] Public Declaration for "The Right to Memory: No to the Auction of the Ex Clandestine Center of Detention and Torture 'Palace of Smiles' [and] for a Site of Memory and Museum of Human Rights in Magallenes," submitted and signed by eight sites of memory and conscience, including Villa Grimaldi Park for Peace, Casa Memoria: José Domingo Canas 1367, Casa Memoria Nido 20, Estadio Nacional, Memoria Nacional, and others, January 30, 2013. Letter in author's personal archive.

processes, Chilean social actors challenged and changes forms of memorialization in the post-dictatorship era. By identifying, signaling, recovering, preserving, and opening to the public former sites of detention and torture, activists turned "memory to action." Villa Grimaldi's vision expanded to and was adopted by other sites. By 2004, diverse groups had mobilized around the toxicity of the National Stadium, Victor Jara Stadium, and José Domingo Cañas 1367. Two years later, the vision reached the southernmost stretches of Chile when activists pushed for and won the recovery of a one-time Naval Hospital in Punta Arenas, which was utilized as a detention and torture center during the early days of the dictatorship. Since then, the former hospital "has been the House of Human Rights… [delivering] movies, theatre, and dance and poetry in the cultural [realm]; literacy, pre-university, and stimulating children's workshops in the educational [realm]; meetings for neighbors, unions, and civil organizations in the social [realm]." Through the inversion of these toxic sites, social actors demonstrated how history "from below" could be produced, represented, and utilized in the public sphere. With the dramatic increase in memorialization in 2003, however, popular, official, and scholarly attention to public memorials and/or sites of memory has trended towards commemorative and ritual uses of the site, the civil-state negotiations and relations to construct them, their role in democracy-building efforts, and a focus on symbolic reparation and societal reconciliation.

In contrast, the recovery of the memorial spaces physically connected to human rights violations and/or resistance revealed a clear, conscious effort on the part of activists to construct historic narratives: "selective accounts… constructed to create meanings, interpret, reality… construct identities, enable social action, and to construct the world and its moral

and social order for its audience."[331] Seeing memorial spaces in this light gave a sense of how everyday people put the past to work in the present, how they *do* or *make* history. By shifting the conversation to the *doing* or *making* of history, human rights memorials at sites physically connected to violations could be read as historical narratives, cultural texts that seek to influence collective memory as much as provide places for personal introspection and political action. The historic works that underscored these narratives, therefore, were not only political manifestations, but also historic representations of lived experiences of a type that fell outside of written, literary accounts of history and academic research into a much larger framework of historical consciousness in Chile. And though these historical representations evoked varied meanings for different audiences, it was quite clear that the movement to memorialize human rights violations has been a bottom-up, civil society-driven mission.

The late Haitian anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot put popular history makers and the places they produce history at the center of his study of power and the production of history. This type of historical construction, Trouillot suggested, has been largely ignored in theories of history. As such, he held people—as agents, actors, and subjects—against two sides of historicity,

> People are not always subjects constantly confronting history as some academics would wish, but the capacity upon which they act to become subjects is always part of their condition. This subjective capacity ensures confusion because it makes human beings doubly historical or, more properly, fully historical. It engages them simultaneously in the sociohistorical process and in narrative constructions about that process.

[331] Vered Vinitzki-Seroussi, "Commemorating a Difficult Past: Yitzah Rabin's Memorial," in *The Collective Memory* Reader, eds. Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Serousii, and Daniel Levy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 376-7

Trouillot embraced this ambiguity, the simultaneous separation and intersection between process and narrative, as much as he made clear the necessity to focus concretely on the specific process of historical production, lest we lose ourselves in abstract notions of the nature of history. "For what history is," Trouillot declared, "changes with time and place or, better said, history reveals itself only through the production of specific narratives."[332] Thus, the grassroots historic narratives that have emerged [and are still emerging] in Chile outside of official and academic circles aren't surprising but instead instructive. That these emergent narratives formed in spite of and in opposition to officially scripted narratives, moreover, makes attention to their production all the more pressing.

Like memory itself, public representations of past violations and the people they honor have converted into critical tools for activists in the post-dictatorship era.[333] Since 2003, more than half of the nation's human rights memorials have been erected; this, more than a decade after the end of the regime that perpetrated the events they commemorate. The increase is both dramatic and telling. One the one hand, the sheer number and geographic diversity pointed to a national phenomenon. It paralleled both the widespread nature of Pinochet's repression and the widespread discontent in democracy over the handling of human rights issues, namely truth and justice. In 2010, University of Diego Portales political scientist Cath Collins suggested that the increase in memorialization represented a resurgence of contestation over the human rights violations of the military dictatorship and is part of a larger movement with calls of "popular justice" in Chile.[334] One the other hand, the increase

[332] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 22-25
[333] Sebastian Brett, et. al., "Memorialization and Democracy: State Policy and Civic Action," 2007
[334] Cath Collins, "Human Rights Trials in Chile during and after the 'Pinochet Years,'" *The International Journal of Transitional Justice*, Vol. 4, 2010, 67-86; As part of this 'popular justice,' Collins also offered evidence of

in memorialization happened at the same time the *memory question*—"how to remember the origins, violence, and legacy of Pinochet"—had slipped from the center of the politico-cultural debates that had dominated Chile's transition to democracy in the first two decades after Pinochet's 1990 ouster.[335] While the majority of Chile's political elite and its official circles looked to turn history's proverbial page on a nagging past (or to make it more "digestible" through consensus and reconciliation),[336] the response by human rights activists and their supporters was to forge ahead by keeping alive the memory of past violations. Part of this "politics of remembrance," noted Piper and her colleague Roberto Fernández, involved human rights organizations' "re-appropriation of sites of memory to establish a public signal, a visible mark so that society knows what happened and to use the history of the site for remembrance, education, and policy ends."[337]

Since the 1997 inauguration of the Villa Grimaldi Park for Peace in Santiago, activists have recovered and activated more than ten additional former sites of detention and torture, achieving in some (but not all cases) ensured protection by winning National Historic Monument status. The memorial projects in place at these sites came—and are currently—in various stages of development, contingent on human and economic resources, the politics and process of re-appropriation, the diversity of actors involved, and the sites themselves. Despite these distinctions, the aim to preserve the memory of human rights violations became

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discontent by citing spray painted graffiti of "Punishment for the murderers" and "No forgiveness, no forgetting" at the National Stadium during the September 11 candle light vigils held there in 2008 and 2009.

[335] Stern, Vol. III, 2006

[336] For (in)digestible and "fishbone in the throat" histories, see Edward T. Linenthal. "Epilogue: Reflections," in *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory*, eds. James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton (New York and London: The New Press, 2006), 213-224; for critical a perspective on reconciliation, see Nelly Richard, *Cultural Residues: Chile in Transition*, trans. Alan West-Durán and Theodore Quester (Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, 2004)

[337] Robert Fernández and Isabel Piper. "Lugares de memoria: usos, identidades y policas en Chile de hoy," in *Cuaderno de Trabajo: Memorias, Historias y Derechos Humanos*, ed. Verónica Vives Cofré (Santiago: Universidad de Chile, 2011), 41

central to the enterprises and drove the historic work. In other words: activists sought to produce the knowledge of and shape the narrative about the past. At Villa Grimaldi, for example, which saw approximately 4,500 prisoners pass through its iron gates, activists created an audio-visual archive of interviews with former detainees and the site's neighbors. These testimonies, besides being available to researchers, students, and interested citizens, now help to undergird the public narrative told at and outside of the site. The Collective that founded Casa Memoria José Domingo Cañas 1367 at a former clandestine transfer and torture site in Santiago conducted "perhaps the most innovative grassroots experiment" by "document[ing] the history and consequences of violent mass repression in the *poblaciones* [shantytowns] of Santiago under military rule."[338] Ex-Clinic Santa Lucia, a medical clinic for Pinochet's security agents and clandestine torture site, today houses the Chilean Commission on Human Rights' impressive UNESCO-designated archive and recently opened its doors as a museum.[339] The memorial project National Stadium, National Memory, moreover, used a grant from the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience in 2012 to train thirty university-aged docents. Through workshops led by professional historians, the docents learned to interpret the stadium's past to school groups, professional organizations, and private citizens.

The recovery and retention of the toxic sites proved historic work in itself. Yet as the abovementioned examples show, recuperation and preservation of the sites has been a starting point for an array of historic projects. These projects activated an idea that has been expressed as a right to memory, solidifying it by putting it to practice in particular site and community specific popular historic work. Villa Grimaldi holds international human rights

[338] Stern, Vol. III, 328; the study was undertaken in 2003 and its report published in 2004.
[339] The Chilean Commission of Human Rights is a non-governmental organization. It was established in 1978.

and memory symposiums and works on local indigenous and women's issues and rights. Former political prisoners and younger staff members from Londres 38, a former clandestine torture center in the heart of downtown Santiago, make up Human Rights Observer teams with other sites of memory members, canvasing student and other public protests to record and report police brutality and abuses.[340] At Nido 20 Casa Memoria: Alberto Bachelet Martinez, another one-time clandestine transfer and torture center in a working class neighborhood house, vocational classes are held in cooking and computation for the community. The rationale is that citizens who visit the site for practical purposes will learn the history of the house, opening up broader visions of human rights. These sites and this work, rooted physically and figuratively in the footprints of human rights violations, extend the histories of tragedy—and hope and resistance—to contemporary issues and concerns.

The history and memory of human rights violations, whether consciously or unconsciously (though I lean towards the former), underwrite the human actions and activism in the present. Because of this it is often difficult to distinguish between or untangle these two distinct yet complementary ways to approach the past, though much (academic) ink has flowed trying. In another instance at another Villa Grimaldi-led workshop, a Chilean citizen remarked on the (popular) confusion between history and memory, "A lot of times memory is utilized instead of saying history, we want to rescue the histories and there [instead] we say memory."[341] But what we can say with more certainty—and what I am concerned with here—is that the general aim to preserve the memory or, perhaps, construct the memory of

[340] www.observadoresddhh.org; the author accompanied Human Rights Observers teams during a public protest on Feb. 28, 2012, and saw them at a handful of others during his research tenure in Santiago de Chile of the same year.

[341] Anonymous, *Procesos de memoria ciudadnía y recuperción de lugares de conciencia: Encuentro y taller*, (Santiago: Corporación Parque por la Paz Villa Grimaldi, 2010), 54

human rights violations at and through the sites of memory and conscience translates into concrete historic work, simultaneously producing specific narratives. Historical work in one sense involves the creation and collection of archives, preservation of physical remains and artifacts, and the gathering of oral histories and testimonies. In another sense, it means being historic in the present, embracing everyday actions as historic actions, when people are aware of their own historicity, where memorials represent "a place to meet, a time to share, and a discourse to cherish."[342] Much like Trouillot's two sides of historicity, the historic work and sense of being historic on the part of popular history makers in Chile simultaneously separate and intersect. As such, activists write themselves in(to) history through a specific historic narrative, recognizing the historic character of toxic sites and inverting them into centers of activism by claiming a right to memory. At the same time, they continue to foster a complex, continuous, historical consciousness among the public who use and visit the sites. Speaking about a public exhibit staged by Londres 38, its president and former detainee at the site, Ericka Hennings, noted "the wide participation of the citizens in this [exhibition] effort meets the goal of imparting knowledge about what happened and delivers elements which make it possible for people to reflect on how impunity allows the continuity and repetition of facts to silence all social and political mobilization."[343]

This blending of history and memory at this popular level has important implications for historians and other scholars concerned with how the past operates in the present—and for how professional history represents it popular counterpart. It directs attention towards non-traditional and non-archival sources and experiences. That is, apart from the historic

[342] Vered Vinitzki-Seroussi, 376-7
[343] "The Right to Memory in Chile: An Interview with Erika Hennings, President of Londres 38," http://upsidedownworld.org/, accessed May 25, 2012

labor—gathering, collecting, preserving, and archiving—at the sites of memory and conscience, historical *production* happens through quotidian acts, stories from activist to child, meetings between (old) comrades, cooking and computation classes, the playing of music, the cultural shows with dance, theatre, and poetry, memory symposiums and protest reports: the threads that weave History's margins and silences into whole cloth. Practitioners of public history have long been aware of the value of these alternative historical sources to shape our interpretations of the past. A public history approach shows how the relationship between the historian and sources is altered, not only in the material historians engage, but in the very process of engagement.[344] Raphael Samuel and his followers argued that different materials open possibilities for constructing different histories and that "The use of non-archival materials [also] gives a greater appreciation of the many ways in which the past is validated in people's everyday lives." In his *The Enemy Within*, for example, Samuel uses "material *created* and *collected* by activists" in an "attempt to show 'the ways history is made behind our backs, in spite of our best intentions rather than because of them.'"[345] Thus, representing grassroots forms of historical work (re: public memorials as popular narrative) in academic literature might be better accomplished by focusing on the past in people's everyday lives, rather than on people's everyday lives in the past.

Given the temporal and spatial proximity to the dictatorial past, how it is used in the present shapes the lives of many Chileans, especially because victims (and their allies) and perpetrators (and their apologists) often find themselves in the same public places. Activist Juan Leonardo Maureira explained the situation in Paine, a community just south of

[344] Michael Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public* History, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), xvi

[345] Hilda Kean and Paul Ashton, eds., *People and their Pasts: Public History Today*, Intro., (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 3. Emphasis mine. The quote inside the quote is Raphael Samuel.

Santiago, "We, to the present day, live with the victimizers. People cross in the supermarket, in the delicatessen, in the bus, in the metro."[346] In Curacaví, of equal distance outside of Santiago to the west where activists recovered a one-time police precinct and torture site, the mayor, until his 2012 death, was an appointee of Pinochet. At the National Stadium, the nation's largest house of horror, people from all walks of life flood in and cross daily at sporting, cultural, and social events. At the very same time, these temporal and spatial proximities subject the researcher to the very same dynamics, where the author of academic history (in this case, me) cannot escape, nor should, the political, ethical, and methodological implications. Writing professional history as it happens in this context presents myriad challenges—and insights.

At the same time, representing narrative truths at the stadium proved a daunting task for all involved, not least because the special contingencies of the stadium's daily practical use and symbolic power as national icon. Walkowitz and Knauer argued that "When debates over history and memory become public matter, the controversies invariably take on a myopic character—they are seen as bound up with the political and social divisions in that particular city or country."[347] What had begun as a collective effort by civil society actors to declare the stadium a National Historic Monument in 2003 later devolved into a contest between competing museum projects, questions of authority and authenticity, and, according to the two architects whose museum project lost favor, a "lack of political willingness" on

[346] Juan Leonardo Maureira. "Memorial 'Paine un lugar para la memoria', Chile, in *Procesos de memoria ciudadnía y recuperción de lugares de conciencia: Encuentro y taller*, (Santiago: Corporación Parque por la Paz Villa Grimaldi, 2010), 46

[347] Walkowitz and Knauer, 5.

behalf of government authorities.[348] What was left when the dust settled was RMEPP, a fledgling human rights organization in charge of National Stadium, National Memory—the largest, most ambitious, and now officially authorized expression to memorialize the stadium-as-concentration camp. Approved in 2010, it has lacked the financial, professional, and institutional support and "willingness" necessary to see it to its final fruition.

Ten years previous, the Argentine sociologist Elizabeth Jelin recognized memory as a continually contested and changing terrain in the realm and wake of Southern Cone dictatorships.[349] Treating a variety of conceptual designs and concrete practices employed by distinct social groups, Jelin revealed the false dichotomy between "remembering versus forgetting." Instead, she suggested, after traumatic experiences such as state terrorism and political violence, the battle waged was that of "memory against memory," competing narratives that continually vie for supremacy and legitimacy. Under this rubric—memory against memory—memory expressions didn't only unfold to parallel traditional social and political divisions within Chile. Instead, memory against memory also operated between groups and individuals that were socially and politically aligned. Jelin's study confirmed, moreover, that in the political enterprise of memory in the Southern Cone countries human rights actors and organizations held a privileged position. These diverse groups of people—united by a quest for truth and justice, as much as social and political sentiments—competed for the primacy of certain memory narratives against "official" narratives—but also each

[348] Personal interviews with Claudia Woywood Rodriguez and Marcelo Rodriguez Whipple, niece and son of the "disappeared" architect Alejandro Rodríguez Urúa, conducted February 7 and April 12, 2012, respectively. This view was also expressed by Ms. Woywood in "Los escritos de los presos políticos del Estadio Nacional: El pergaminos, la lápida y la canción de bebo," The Clinic, 10 Nov. 2010. The architects' project is called "Open Museum, Site of Memory and Homage" and has been mentioned in previous work by Steve Stern (2006) and Peter Winn (2011) and examined by Katherine Hite (2004).

[349] Elizabeth Jelin, *State Repression and the Labors of Memory*, trans. Judy Rein and Marcial Godoy-Anativia (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), originally published as *Los trabajos de la memoria* (Siglo XXI, 2003)

other. That is, Jelin's "memory entrepreneurs" sought "social recognition and political legitimacy of *one* (their own) interpretation or narrative of the past."

The Argentine sociologist understood the moral underpinnings in this movement based on Howard Becker's "moral entrepreneurs"—defined as leaders and social actors who activate their energies based on humanitarian motives. Jelin adopted and applied Becker's moral entrepreneurs to human rights activists' abilities to mobilize social support for and maintain attention on the dictatorial past in the present. She explained:

> After the transition to democratic rule, they [memory entrepreneurs] tried to influence and change the meaning and content of the 'official story' of the dictatorial period, with the explicit goal of eliminating historical dimensions and to bring to light and legitimate the stories that had been in the 'catacombs,' hidden, censored, silenced.[350]

This terrain to eliminate historical dimensions and express censored stories developed largely in the public sphere. Commemorations and marches on specific anniversaries and monuments and commemorative plaques at specific sites symbolized the movements and actions of human rights memory entrepreneurs. As a result, human rights activists' commitment to public memory through the "markers of memory, commemorations and sites" gained strength—but became further complicated—when joined by allies who had not been directly affected by the state violence and repression. Youth groups such as HIJOS (Chapter 5), musicians, artists, and performers, and other interested individuals and organizations mobilized with, as, and against memory entrepreneurs.

Despite the moral underpinnings of the memory entrepreneurs in Chile, unsurprisingly personal and political divisions and decisions marked and marred memorial initiatives. Though the narrative debates surrounding the National Stadium dated back to the

[350] Jelin, 35

days immediately after the coup in 1973, the initial expressions of memory and memorialization on the part human rights activists in the 1990s spread to a greater urgency involving more stakeholders in the 2000s. The increase in attention to the stadium-as-concentration camp complicated by a greater number of interested actors and organizations was as promising as it was problematic. Heterogeneous representatives from civil society, professional circles, and the state mobilized to mark the stadium in unprecedented ways: candlelight vigils throughout the 1990s, a memorial plaque in 2001, a national monument designation in 2003, among other collaborative and individual projects. Alternatively, the diversity of narratives that spoke of the stadium-as-concentration camp competed for primacy and legitimacy. In 2008, in an unintentional way, I also became a stakeholder in the cacophony of voices committed to calling attention to the stadium's horrific past.[351]

Similar to Piper's consideration of the dynamic nature of memorials and the actors who infused them with import, the narrative of the stadium-as-concentration camp has been neither static nor monolithic in the post-dictatorship era. Moreover, the narrative of the toxic site hasn't been contained to the national monument designation or the human rights museum—National Stadium, National Memory—approved to interpret the concentration camp, as other individuals and organizations used—and continued to use—the stadium for memorial purposes. The original intent of the monument-museum in the memorial life of the

[351] I first became interested in and began advocating for the human rights memorial at the stadium in 2008 as a result of the research I completed for my M.A. thesis, *Making Memory Matter: The National Stadium of Chile and the Politics of Post-Dictatorship Memory*.[351] What began as an academic exercise evolved into an invitation to collaborate with activists responsible for National Stadium, National Memory. Between 2008 and 2012 I gained firsthand knowledge of the project's diverse components: an oral-history venture, interpretive "memory route" tours of the stadium, preservation and maintenance of protected stadium sites, commemorative ceremonies at the stadium on symbolic dates (September 11, December 10, March 8), and human rights theatre and musical productions. Between these, I also participated in dozens of project meetings, spent countless hours receiving and interacting with memorial visitors at the stadium, and helped drum up international attention and support as a project advocate.

stadium-as-concentration camp, as much as the stakeholders, has changed dramatically. Collaborators have come and gone, economic and material resources have been inconsistent at best, and the "political moment" has ebbed and flowed. The prolonged battle between RMEPP's Kunstmann and the architects Woywood and Rodríguez culminated into a 2008 showdown in the highest halls of power in Chile (Chapter 5). Despite the ongoing memory struggles at the stadium, one things was certain. The move to memorialize the stadium was on the leading edge of the "great proliferation of memorial initiatives beginning in 2003." The years of mobilization and collaboration at the stadium in the years leading up to 2003, as much as the decision to preserve and protect the site of Chile's largest concentration camp, offered the early warnings in the shift in "political process of memory in regards to the Chilean military dictatorship…on the part of civil society as much as the State."[352]

Much in the same way that the stadium-as-concentration camp symbolized the Chilean experiences immediately after the coup and, following, the detention and torture at the 1,132 sites that Pinochet made toxic between 1973 and 1990, the memorialization of the stadium-as-concentration camp helped launch a decade of public memorial initiatives. But the stadium as public memorial was unique. First, that it was a site physically connected to human rights violations, a minority among the over two hundred memorials spanning the length and breadth of Chile. Second, the National Stadium's continued practical use and symbolic importance outside of the fifty-eight days in 1973 complicated the narrative construction of the concentration camp immediately before and after 2003. Though organizations such as RMEPP claimed special access to the stadium through its museum

[352] Carolina Aguilera, et . al., "Experiencias participativas de políticas y la construcción de la memoria colectiva sobre la dictadura en Chile." Presented at the 2010 Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Toronto, Canada, October 6-9, 2010

project National Stadium, National Memory, a host of other social actors also participated in the memorial process and narrative of the stadium-as-concentration camp. Finally, the increased interest and measurable uptick in public memorials beginning in 2003 brought the stadium's new and old stakeholders under great scrutiny and study. A growing body of social scientist literature, professional organizations, and state organisms began to discuss the stadium-as-concentration camp in terms of memorial patrimony, symbolic reparations, and democracy building. The lack of physical interventions to interpret the concentration camp continued to inspire activists and bring pressure on the state. By Chile's 2010 bicentennial, modernization efforts exposed the stadium's scar and exacerbated narrative controversies, whereas, for example, the annual *velatón* was marked by two separate ceremonies, the tradition encounter outside the gates and a new one inside the stadium proper, hosted by RMEPP.

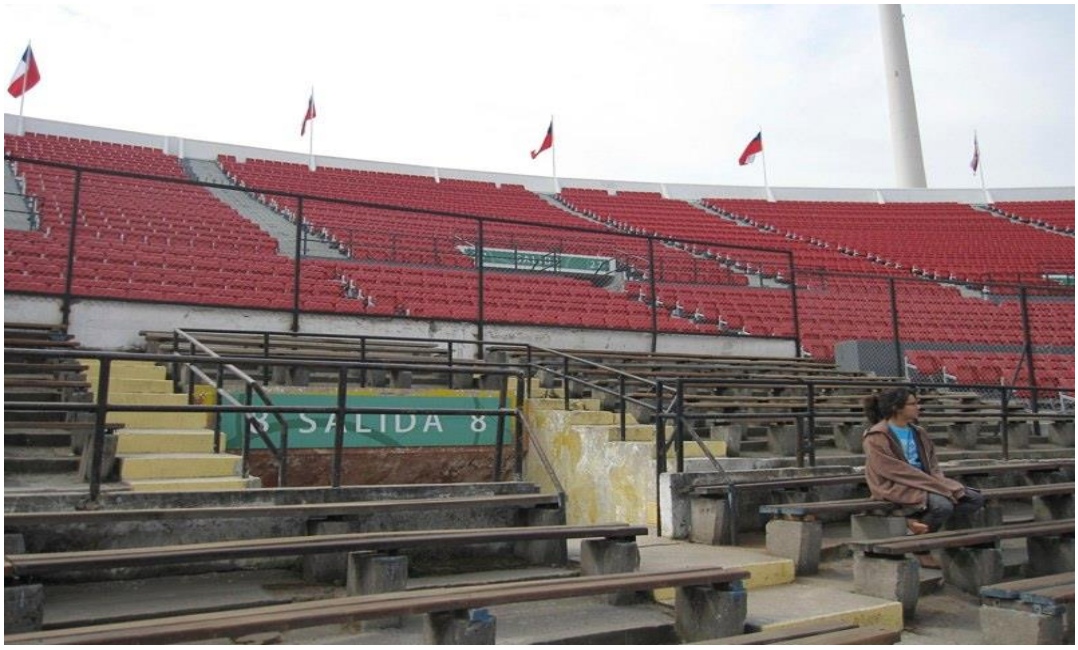

Figure 7. Preserved section of seating surrounded by modern upgrades for Chile's 2010 bicentennial celebration. Photo by author.

When Kunstmann, Perez, and RMEPP members were accompanied by University of Chile students to the stadium in 2004, the narrative of complexity of the stadium-as-concentration camp was growing. After the mobilization efforts between 1998 and 2003 culminated into the national monument designation, the stadium as an officially recognized site of memory experienced more popular expressions from social actors. This paralleled and was part of the nationwide movement towards memorializing human rights violations and, therefore, caught in the conflicts of competing memory versus memory narratives. Issues of ownership divided one-time collaborators and as historic work continued so too did it suffer. My own participant-observer insights beginning in 2008 confirmed this, as I struggled with and against other memory entrepreneurs. The National Stadium had converted from a toxic site to a public memorial of struggle, where stake-holders continued to make and unmake memory narratives.

Epilogue

On January 11, 2010, then Chilean President Michelle Bachelet inaugurated the 'Museum of Memory and Human Rights' in the nation's capital. The momentous occasion marked a major milestone for the country's transitioning democracy. Not only did the new museum symbolize state-sponsored reparations in response to the human rights violations committed during the dictatorship, but in an official way it also confirmed what grassroots actors had been advocating since Chile's return to democracy: that the memory of human rights violations was essential for the nation to construct a stable, just, and transparent society. However, the museum's fundamental objective "to give visibility to the human rights violations by the Chilean State between 1973 and 1990; to dignify the victims and their families; and to stimulate reflection and debate about the importance of respect and tolerance so that these events are never repeated"[353] confined memory as it defined the consensus politics of post-Pinochet Chile by institutionalizing the historical relationship between memory and human rights. For activists, this seemed to undermine public memory. "Consensus is the most advanced stage of forgetting,"[354] argued the sociologist Tomás Moulian. As cultural theoriest Nelly Richard explained,

> Pluralism and consensus were the issues called on to interpret a new social multiplicity whose ebbs and flows of opinion should, supposedly, express the diverse, but whose diversity had to be regulated by certain pacts, understandings, and negotiations that would contain excesses so as not to revive the collision of ideological forces that divided us in the past.[355]

Reading the 'Museum of Memory and Human Rights' in this way, a consensus, helped and hindered historical narratives of dictatorship. The museum's acclaimed ability of human

[353] See, www.museodelamemoria.cl
[354] Tomás Moulian, *Chile actual: anatomía de un mito* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 1997), quoted in Lazzara, 17
[355] Richard, 16

rights education, historic preservation, and museum exhibition helped "universalize our message of human rights,"[356] according to Ricardo Brodsky, the museum's executive director. Reviewing the museum, historian Cherstin Lyon recognized the intent that it "is designed not just to preserve the memory of a historical narrative. It is also meant to be an educational tool that will remain relevant to new generations that encounter human-rights challenges in new contexts." Nevertheless, Lyon's concluded officially recognizing and institutionalizing memory has revealed the the risk of consensus, excess containment, and regulation of ideological forces: "As powerful and moving as the museum is, it cannot replicate the raw emotion of informal memorials, historic sites, and cemeteries."[357]

In addition to institutionalizing the relationship between the two most defining tenets of grassroots activism against and after a dictatorship, the formal 'Museum of Memory and Human Rights' masked the raw emotion which had given life to and helped forge the relationship in the first place. This unique historical relationship between human rights and memory reaches back further than the museum's founding history, based in the Rettig Report's recommendations (1991), woven through the demands of human rights organizations during the democratic transition, and confirmed by the commitment of the two successive, progressive administrations of Ricardo Lagos (2002-2006) and Bachelet (2006-2010). In fact, the critical perspective of this now institutionalized relationship points, unsurprisingly, to the National Stadium of Chile, the physical and figurative starting point for Pinochet's human rights violations, the human rights movement that fought against the dictatorship, and the raw emotion that that place evokes and preserves. On September 11,

[356] Ricardo Brodsky, interviewed by Zachary McKiernan, April 10, 2012. File in possession of author.
[357] Cherstin M. Lyon, "Special Review Section: International Museums and Historic Sites," *The Public Historian*, Vol. 33 (Spring, 2011), pp. 135-144

1973, Chile's contemporary battle over history and memory began. Pinochet and his apologists advanced justifications for the military coup; his detractors both at home and abroad advocated otherwise. Nowhere was this more evident than at the National Stadium where thousands after thousands suffered and state-terrorism took hold. To deflect attention and hide the violations against human dignity, bodily integrity, and political consciousness, the military junta projected an official image of law, order, and necessity in order to curb the spread of a communist cancer and, by extension, an armed take-over of the government backed by Soviet-Cuban forces under the (fictitious) Plan Z. Ironically, in its anticipation and efforts to avert critique, the military junta affirmed the political importance of human rights even as they held total preponderance of force and ruthless violence. Those imprisoned at the stadium, the junta proclaimed, would receive due process lettered to the law, interviewed, and released barring they posed no threat to the civilizing order that the junta prescribed. Absurdly, Minister of interior Oscar Bonilla would claim that stadium prisoners would receive compensation for lost wages while detained, adding "the situation in the stadium was absolutely normal and that there hasn't been a single problem for the prisoners."[358] To corroborate this official version of the rule of law and order, the stadium's new military administrators audaciously opened some parts of the stadium to the press corps, International Red Cross, and Organization of American States delegations. According to camp commander Col. Espinoza, the imprisoned received healthy diets, adequate medical attention, and, above all, judicious judgment by military officials. This official version of history telling and making contradicted, of course, the reality of the persecuted within the bowels of the stadium's hell.

[358] Oscar Bonilla in *El Mercuio*, September 24, 1973, quoted in Bonnefoy, 33

At the same time and same place, prisoners' relatives and loved ones gathered at the stadium gates. Mostly women, the aggrieved searched Santiago's police precincts, hospitals, and morgues for information and evidence of Chile's missing and disappeared citizens, ultimately beginning and ending these searches at the largest *de facto* prison in the new military governed country. Almost by default, automatically, they came day after day, disadvantaged by the inability to travel in groups of more than three, lacking money and food with their families' bread-winners imprisoned, harassed at military checkpoints, hampered by a restrictive curfew and, ultimately, fighting the raw emotion of this reality: the death of a democratic revolution, the government of the dispossessed, *their* government of the dispossessed, dashed by a desperate counter-revolution of armed fascists. Still they came, in droves, driven to find loved ones and support in others. Through these encounters, they shared purpose, information, secrets. They also shared with one another the stories of those they awaited. In those stories and in their continued presence demonstrating that they would not forget those taken away, they began public memory. They consoled, conspired, and began to organize. They told and made the history that the military would not allow—and because of it spawned the seeds of Chile's famously vibrant human rights movement.

Memory and human rights married at the National Stadium in 1973, some four decades prior to the institutionalized version set forth by the formal 'Museum of Memory and Human Rights.' Moses Moskowitz correctly observed at the onset of the 1970s that the idea of human rights had "yet to arouse the curiosity of the intellectual, to stir the imagination of the social and political reformer and to evoke emotional response of the moralist."[359] At the onset of the new millennium Edward Cleary claimed that "The

[359] Moses Moskotwitz quoted in "Human Rights in History," Samuel Moyn, *The Nation*, August 11, 2010

watershed event in the contemporary human rights period…was the bloody coup that occurred on the 'other September 11th.'"[360] Between the dawn of the 1970s and that of the 2000s, Chilean activists had helped change a paradigm, harnessing the human rights violations under Pinochet into a potent intellectual, political, social, and moral pursuit that unleashed imagination as much as raw emotion locally and globally. Meanwhile, when Chile's fascists forced the regime change in 1973, the memory seed planted itself in the actions of the human actors who mobilized against them. As Pinochet systematically dismantled powerful political parties, organized labor, and the university system, his detractors moved against him from "three sets of mobilizing structures," the family, the church, and the shantytown neighborhoods. People used those structures not only to remember those taken away, but to remember and condemn the transgressive acts and actors. For the dispossessed, memory was a political purpose as well as a personal vigil. To the activists, human rights meant the "right to life and security of the person."[361] Through remembering that, the movement went to work to unseat Pinochet from power. The women family members from the shantytowns who first began to meet at the stadium gates allied with a church led by the moral conviction of the Cardinal Silva, who had also made multiple trips to the stadium camp. These stadium forces coalesced and "would fortify as opposed to diversify" meanings of life and security with the ultimate goal to overthrow the dictatorship. Human rights in Chile undid Moskowitz's assertion, as the social, political, and moral underpinnings of human rights actions bore fruit nationally and influenced international understandings of and motivations behind the idea of contemporary human rights.

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[360] Edward Cleary, *Mobilizing for Human Rights in Latin America* (Bloomfield, Connecticut: Kumarian Press, Inc, 2007), ix

[361] Louis Bickford, "Preserving Memory: The Past and the Human Rights Movement in Chile," *Democracy and Human Rights in Latin America*, eds. Richard s. Hillman, John A. Peeler, and Esla Cardoza da Silva (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2002), pp. 9-26

From the onset of the forced regime change in 1973, the Chilean human rights movement channeled raw emotion into a moral force of humanity. It also began to consciously record the unofficial history of the violations for posterity's sake. Vicariate of Solidarity lawyers filed thousands of *habeas corpus* petitions before the courts which "would be invaluable to establishing the truth of what happened between 1973 and 1990 and to the eventual pursuit of justice."[362] Moreover, as the military dictatorship "amassed huge collections of documentary materials that themselves represent[ed] a kind of national patrimony" and hid, manipulated, or destroyed evidence of violations, so too did the human rights organizations during the dictatorship gather and archive "their documents, trying to organize them and preserve them (such as on microfilm)."[363] Meanwhile, Chile's reciprocal relationship with the international human rights regime kept pressure on Pinochet, who, in turn, tailored his policy of state-sponsored terror in a way to minimize backlash and maximize legitimacy. Arguably, without the presence of and relationship between national and international human rights movements, Pinochet's wrath would have been far worse. Equally, it is clear that the idea of the human right to life and security of the person, the ultimate goal of the human rights movement to overthrow Pinochet, and the day-to-day memory battles between official and unofficial versions of history during dictatorship gave life and form to the relationship between memory and human rights. Human rights activists simultaneously fought to overthrow Pinochet, protect persecuted citizens, and preserve the nation's unofficial history while making it at the same time.

[362] Thomas C. Wright, *State Terrorism in Latin America: Chile, Argentina, and International Human Rights*, (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007) 226
[363] Bickford, 13

It is powerfully symbolic that the celebration to end the dictatorship and inaugurate democracy took place inside the National Stadium on March 12, 1990: *Chile, Así Me Gusta*. In a certain way the National Stadium's events—the stadium camp in '73 and the democracy celebration in '90—bookended the dictatorship. When the return to demorcracy prioritized a compromising consensus the stadium's permanence and physical connection to human rights violations helped sustain the human rights movement. With Pinochet toppled and the flight of international backing and resources, an exhausted human rights movement struggled in the initial years of democracy. The struggle was two-fold. First, the governing *Concertación* co-opted the human rights movement, its language and symbolism, toward the end of immediate national unification through consensus and reconciliation. As Louis Bickford observed the "government took control of human rights discourse on a national stage. By establishing a blue-ribbon commission on truth, the Aylwin government highlighted human rights and memory as central concerns. This created heightened awareness of the linkage between a discourse of rights…and a discourse of memory, truth, past atrocities, and history."[364] It also enabled Aylwin to claim on August 7, 1991 "The Transition is now complete. In Chile we live in democracy."[365] Memory and human rights, in Michael Lazzara's estimation, quickly became "an issue that, at least in official circles, would best be left shrouded by a tacit pact of silence."[366] This official response and co-opting irked grassroots activists, leading to the deflated human rights movement's second struggle, not dissimilar to the dictatorial years. In the new democratic environment, with the *Concerntación* at the helm of human rights discourse, coupled with the right to life and security of the person secured, Pinochet's ouster meant that the aggrieved victims—the

[364] Bickford, 16
[365] Patricio Aylwin quoted in Lazzara, 19
[366] Lazzara, 19.

thousands upon thousands of tortured victims, returned exiles, and generally repressed—now needed to continue against a new national history of reconciliation. Tellingly, nearing the end of the transitioning democracy's first decade, the human rights movement's mobilization around memory (as truth and justice) aimed complaints and outrage at the governing *Concertación's* inadequacy at to fully address human rights issues in democracy much more than the military that had perpetrated the violations in dictatorship.

Until 1998, the year of Pinochet's unthinkable arrest in London—which also dramatically altered international human rights standards of accountability (now known as the *Pinochet Effect*)—the National Stadium quietly maintained within its walls the raw emotion of human rights violations and resistance, the dual forces that had married the idea of memory and human rights on the day of the military coup. With the unwillingness of the *Concertación* to dig deeper into the past, prosecute perpetrators of the violations, and satisfy completely grassroots activists' demands of symbolic and economic reparations, the new battle in democracy mirrored the old: the telling of a national history. Thus, the politics of memory became central to the human rights movement and its activists—as much as allies sympathetic to the movement and its activists and allies turned towards popular forms of truth-telling. These strategies included public commemorative ceremonies and, more importantly, the recovery and retention of the physical vestiges of human rights violations and resistance—or, the raw emotion. RMEPP and, in turn, RMEPPs work 'National Stadium, National Memory' were emblematic of this move. Newly established in the wake of Pinochet's arrest, failing to register on then President Eduardo Frie's agenda-setting radar, and comprised of non-professional former prisoners and exiles, the group established its primary objective "to denounce the torture… committed by the dictatorship, to signal the

sites (*recintos*) of Prison and Torture where we had been sequestered, and [name] the names of the military and civilian agents who tortured us."[367] Place, or the physical places that harbored the raw emotion of human rights violations, revealed its impact in the evolving relationship between memory and human rights in democracy.

The precedent happened almost by accident. In 1978, peasants lead Vicariate leaders to the site of an abandoned lime mine in Lonquen, just south of Santiago. There they found the lifeless bodies of other peasants disappeared since 1973. The sensational discovery caused a national stir, legal investigation, and impromptu commemorations and vigils by activists and sympathizers at the site. Two years later, the property owner dynamited the mine shafts, though the unofficial pilgrimages to the site continued. Fast-forward to Chile's nascent democracy. Five years after Pinochet's ouster, human rights activists Sola Sierra and Viviana Díaz blew the whistle on plans to turn the by-then-sacred site into a municipal garbage dump. The human rights activists and representatives from the Council of National Monuments and the Directorate of Libraries, Archives, and Museums (DIBAM) strategized that the only viable protection to prevent the site's conversion to a garbage dump was a national monument declaration. In 1996, the site—Hornos de Lonquen—became the "the first declaration of a national monument of an historic site associated with victims of human rights violations in Chile."[368] In 2002, the former clandestine detention and torture center Jose Domingo Cañas 1367 was the second—though the small house was razed by the-then owner just days before the declaration. And the third in 2003, also under threats of demolition and behind a groundswell of memory mobilization: The National Stadium of Chile.

[367] Wally Kunstman and Victoria Torres, 19
[368] Cabeza, 6

Toxic places in post-dictatorship Chile became boons for human rights activists and memory entrepreneurs unwilling to accept the official version of history and utilitarian projects of the state. The power of place, place-memory, and place-based histories came to a head as unofficial voices sought to maintain the theme of human rights in public view and to preserve unofficial narratives as national patrimony. Stern noted that such places exerted a "certain cultural magic" because they descended directly from trauma, on the one hand, and were "infused with a sense of intimate connection to sacred history via human intervention 'after the fact,'" on the other. If these sites were threatened with erasure—which many were and, in fact, many suffered—it activated the aggrieved to protect the sites and, in turn, mobilize around other sites to defend from future threats. These sites became public rally points for historical activism and popular justice. By the time that the formal 'Museum of Memory and Human Rights' had been planned by Lagos's 'There is No Future without Tomorrow' program in 2004 and inaugurated under Bachelet in 2010, human rights activists and memory entrepreneurs had been charting new patrimonial paths from unofficial vistas, solidifying, rather than diversifying, the historical relationship between memory and human rights around the raw emotion embedded in sites physically connected to violations.

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At the National Stadium of Chile memory married human rights in 1973, as the battle of competing versions of history rose against a backdrop of detention, torture, and death. These experiences seared physically into the stadium's walls and figuratively into the hearts, minds, and collective memories of Chileans. Since then, Chileans and non-Chileans alike have returned again and again to relive and reinterpret these experiences of the stadium's concentration camp. Each visit, each moment of silence, each candle lit, each

commemoration, each song sung, each private or public tribute, each contested narrative has contributed to this unique historical relationship. Today, more than forty years later, it is clear that the stadium-as-concentration camp has been central as a site of memory for the Chilean nation. The contested narrative of the concentration camp, in a very permanent and prominent fashion, sits at the center of the Chile's contested contemporary history. The 'Museum of Memory and Human Rights' doesn't do or allow this. The formal site, physically disconnected from the human rights violations that defined the Pinochet dictatorship, though important, cannot replicate the raw emotion so unique to memory and remembrance. Thus, the sustaining power of place, the memories it invokes, and the telling of historical narratives in public have coalesced at the stadium as not only a "national icon" but an icon of contemporary human rights, homage, and activism.

These narrative processes, though, were—and continue to be—dynamic. The original intent of official or unofficial memorials, museums, and historic sites in general and, as this work has shown, 'National Stadium, National Memory' specifically may or may not resonate with an ongoing process or end result. Decisions are made as grassroots collaborators come and go, as groups experience advances or setbacks, as funding for projects dries up or replenishes, as the "political moment" ebbs and flows. In this sense, human rights sights of memory and related policies and practices give us a sense of how history works and is produced *through* time, historical contingencies, mistakes and missteps, the things that could happen just as much as they can't or won't. As a result, this affects the narrative and narrated life of a memorial site. The prolonged struggle between the stadium's competing memorial projects, for example—which culminated in a 2008 meeting with then President Michelle Bachelet's human rights advisor and government officials—has resulted in piecemeal and

spotty historical work. At the stadium today, engravings left by prisoners in the walls remain intact but unprotected, subject to erasure or relegation to the dustbin of history at any moment. The oral history component of 'National Stadium, National Memory,' which began in November, 2011, is perhaps one of the project's most significant contributions, with over thirty testimonies of former stadium prisoners recorded. It has also been soundly critiqued for methodological shortcomings and ethical inconsistencies and, ultimately, shaped my decision, along with a Chilean historian, to leave the initiative. In this case, the challenge to supplement grassroots historic work with academic and professional standards proved an irreconcilable impasse.

Despite this, two things are certain at the National Stadium. First, the move to memorialize the stadium after Pinochet's arrest was on the leading edge of the "great proliferation of memorial initiatives beginning in 2003" that represented a shift in the "political process of memory in regards to the Chilean military dictatorship…on the part of civil society as much as the State."[369] Second, the public history work that came in its wake has been contested business, hinging on history *through* time and the equally salient historicity of the activists involved. That the past is being put to use in the present by a range of activists—victims groups, politicians, architects and historians, me—for a variety of activities—an oral history project, music concerts, commemorative events, scholarship—does not ensure easy or certain equations for success. Nor should it. What it does do, however, is demonstrate that professional scholarship must attend to the rich ways that people are using current projects with historical purpose to not only construct popular

[369] Carolina Aguilera, et . al., "Experiencias participativas de políticas y la construcción de la memoria colectiva sobre la dictadura en Chile." Presented at the 2010 Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Toronto, Canada, October 6-9, 2010

historical consciousness but also claim ownership. "To expand the idea of historical production well beyond the limits of academic history-writing," urges the Popular Memory Group, "we must include *all* the ways in which a sense of the past is constructed in our society."[370] Understood from that perspective, 'National Stadium, National Memory,' has added greatly to today's memory debate while at the same time has not propelled the vigorous memory making as much as other sites in Chile.[371]

That scholarly attention has followed in the wake of this popular history-making and slick or official forms of history-telling at the stadium highlights the relationship between academic history and its alternative forms. Our continued insistence on making intellectual, ethical, and methodological inquiries about how our scholarship represents and is affected by alternative forms of history suggests that debates will not abate in the near future. In fact, the overwhelming democratization and acceleration of history has forever changed our understandings of it, challenging us to rethink our roles as citizen-scholars and rework our scholarship to reach broader audiences. Though "*History* is the word that scholars privilege to describe how they approach the past"[372] it is also a way for people to make sense of the present, to construct identities and communities, to reference and plan for the future. History, in many senses, wears many hats. Thus, as some historians have rightly suggested, "we should stop judging other historical practices by the standards of academic history, and instead acknowledge that each form of historical representation has its own methodology, its

[370] Popular Memory Group. "From 'Popular Memory: Theory, Politics, and Method," in in *The Collective Memory* Reader, eds. Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Serousii, and Daniel Levy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 254

[371] National Stadium, National Memory, under the stewardship of the Metropolitan Region of Ex Political Prisoners, is a memorial chapter still being penned. Struggles of authority, ownership, and interpretation continue, as do issues concerning economic resources, sustainability, and, ultimately, personal patronage.

[372] Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 6

own forms, codes of convention, and its own cultural values."[373] As Chilean historical memory work shows, to do this can reveal powerful ways in which history is being narrated to affect the course of society and fundamental ways people understand themselves and express and articulate their rights.

Public memorials, museums, and historical sites offer just one example of alternative historical representations. What is particularly poignant though in the case of Chile is that they represent new ways to read toxic sites, where public memorials, in some but not all cases, convert to sites of memory and conscience. Not only do these places force remembrance of a painful past. But they also make implicit the state's illegal actions that facilitated the unjust deaths of Chilean citizens. They are morally and politically driven. More than this, though, activists have turned once toxic sites into centers for historical dialogue, dance and theatre, research and activism. "Another important aspect of sites of memory," writes Maxine Lowy of the Memory and Justice website, "is that they concretely stem the tide of historical revisionism and negation, so predominant of a significant political sector of Chile."[374] Taken together, Piper suggests that they represent a "meta-place," a network of sites of memory "constituted by different projects, diverse organizations, varied constructions, and distinct sites." Contrary to Pierre Nora's assertion that sites of memory sometimes stimulate complacency, by writing the people today into history through action, the Chilean sites of memory and conscience inspire and mobilize.

While I worked closely with the activists from Nido 20 on historic research, they invited me to participate in the multi-layered process to prevent a public homage to Pinochet

[373] Mark Donelly and Claire Norton, *Doing History*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 155, show how historians such David Harlan, Ann Rigney, and Dipesh Chakrabarty have challenged notions that trivialize or lessen popular modes of historical representation.
[374] Personal correspondence

in June, 2012 (Chapter 1); an event sponsored by the right-wing Corporación 11 de Septiembre. One of these steps involved a trip to *La Moneda*, the presidential palace, with members from Santiago's "meta-place" to submit a letter to President Sebastian Piñera—whose government, it is worth remembering, is responsible for the public auction of the "Palace of Smiles" in Punta Arenas. The letter appealed to the right side of history and demanded the President stop the homage to Pinochet. The document declared that to hold such a ceremony in public would be a contradiction to democratic principles and ideals. It stated that "to execute homage to a dictator is an act of extreme violence that makes vulnerable the recent history of our nation, still with painful wounds from the crimes committed and for the lack of truth and justice and that the President "take a clear position and utilize all legal and administrative tools to stop this activity that harms our memory as much as the human rights world and, ultimately, the democracy that day after demands us to deepen it." The signees affirmed a "moral duty with history" to manifest publicly if the homage went forward.[375] And we did, four days later, in a sometimes violent protest that involved activists (both anti and pro Pinochet) and the police.

"Traditionally," Howard Zinn wrote in 1966, "[the historian] is a passive observer, one who looks for sequential patterns in the past as a guide to the future, or else describes historical events as unique and disorderly—but without participating himself in attempts to change the pattern or tidy the disorder."[376] If historians are serious about how well academic scholarship represents the past and if it aligns or conflicts with its nonacademic counterpart, it might be wise to "thrust [ourselves] and [our] work into the crazy mechanism of history, on

[375] Letter can be accessed at www.observadoresddhh.org; it is also in the author's personal archive
[376] Howard Zinn, "Historians as Citizen (1966)," in *Howard Zinn on History*, Howard Zinn, ed, (New York, Seven Stories Press, 2011), 43

behalf of values in which [we] believe."[377] I believe in both the values and narratives represented by public memorials in Chile. And I believe in these because I have participated, struggled, met success and failure, analyzed with academic sensibility, and acted on pure emotion in them. At the same time, my understanding of the history of and at the memorials, and the larger history of popular historical consciousness, has only been attainable through this participation. Thus, my academic aim is not so much paradigmatic change as it is to drive historians through public history to participate and engage, to be not only the distant authors and arm-chair consumers of a socio-historical process but to be actors and activists in its production. Only in this way will we be able to better measure professional scholarship in relationship to its popular counterpart.

[377] Zinn, 44

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